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ABSTRACT

Many world leaders and scholars feel that the U.S.-Japan Security Alliance is essential for long-term peace, prosperity, and stability in Asia. The purpose of this curriculum unit is to examine this alliance by introducing students to case studies of international conflict, with a focus on security issues in Asia. Through each of the lessons students examine case studies and explore various modes of international conflict resolution and conflict management, question why and when one method is chosen by conflict participants over other methods, and consider the positive and negative results of particular conflict resolution and conflict management methods. Lesson 1 consists of four parts: parts 1-3 focus on providing students with a conceptual framework for dealing with international security issues, while part 4 focuses on the U.S.-Japan Security Alliance. Lesson titles include: (1) "The U.S.-Japan Security Alliance"; (2) "U.S. Military Bases in Okinawa," examines U.S. military bases in Okinawa (Japan) and the resulting conflicts from varying perspectives; (3) "The 1996 Taiwan Strait Crisis: Background and Perspectives"; (4) "Security Issues and the Korean Peninsula"; (5) "Struggling for Peace in Cambodia"; and (6) "The Russo-Japanese 'Northern Territories' Dispute." Contains numerous references and handouts. (BT)

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# CHOICES IN INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT

## With a Focus on Security Issues in Asia

SO 031 131

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# CHOICES IN INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT:

## WITH A FOCUS ON SECURITY ISSUES IN ASIA

Developed by Gregory Francis and Gary Mukai
with contributions from Pearl Kim and James Leininger

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For further information, contact:
The Asia/Pacific Project, SPICE
Institute for International Studies (IIS), Stanford University
Littlefield Center, Room 14, 300 Lasuen Street
Stanford, CA 94305-5013
Tel: (800) 578-1114
Fax: (650) 723-6784
WWW: HTTP://WWW-IIS.Stanford.Edu
E-mail: SPICE.sales@Forsythe.Stanford.Edu

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## unit introduction

CHOICES IN INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT:
With a Focus on Security Issues in Asia ..... 1

Rationale and Introduction to Lessons ..... 1

Unit Goals ..... 3

Materials ..... 3

Time, Suggested Sequence of Activities ..... 3

Small Group Roles ..... 3

Grade Levels ..... 4

Subjects ..... 4

Equipment ..... 4

Icons ..... 4

Policy Study References ..... 4

## lesson one

THE U.S.–JAPAN SECURITY ALLIANCE ..... 7
Handout #1
    International Insecurity Factors ..... 14
Handout #2
    Definitions: Selected International Security Terms ..... 15
For the Teacher
    Teacher's Guide for Defining International Security Terms ..... 16
Handout #3
    Major Conflictual Situations in East Asia ..... 17
Transparency
    Map of Asia ..... 19
Handout #4
    History of the U.S.–Japan Security Alliance ..... 20
Handout #5
    Japan's Security Environment in 1951 ..... 22
Handout #6
    The U.S.'s Security Environment in 1951 ..... 23
Handout #7
    Japan's Security Environment in 1996 ..... 24
Handout #8
    The U.S.'s Security Environment in 1996 ..... 26

## lesson two

U.S. MILITARY BASES IN OKINAWA ........ 29
Handout #1
    Conflict Resolution and Conflict Management: Distinctions and Methods ........ 33
Transparency
    Location of Okinawa in Northeast Asia ........ 35
Handout #2
    Role Play Information Sheet ........ 36
Okinawan Citizens' Statement
    A Message to Our American Friends from Concerned Japanese Citizens ........ 37
Government Statement
    Japan–U.S. Joint Declaration on Security Alliance for the 21st Century ........ 39
Japanese Government Statement
    Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto ........ 41
Okinawan Government Letter
    Governor Masahide Ota ........ 43
U.S. Government Statement
    Former U.S. Secretary of Defense William Perry ........ 45
U.S. Military Perspective
    U.S. Military Officer Stationed in Okinawa ........ 47
Statistician
    U.S. Bases in Okinawa and Mainland Japan, Statistics ........ 49
Historian
    U.S. Bases in Okinawa, a Timeline ........ 51
Cards
    U.S. Bases in Okinawa, Options ........ 52

## lesson three

THE 1996 TAIWAN STRAIT CRISIS: BACKGROUND AND PERSPECTIVES ........ 53
Transparency
    Map of Taiwan ........ 59
Handout #1
    History of Relations Between the People's Republic of China and Taiwan Province, 1949–1978 ........ 60
Handout #2
    History of Relations Between the China Mainland and Taiwan, 1949–1978 ........ 62
Handout #3
    History of Relations Between the People's Republic of China and Taiwan Province, 1979–1987 ........ 64
Handout #4
    History of Relations Between the China Mainland and Taiwan, 1979–1987 ........ 66

Handout #5
History of Relations Between the People's Republic of China and Taiwan Province, 1988–1995 ........ 68
Handout #6
History of Relations Between the China Mainland and Taiwan, 1988–1995 ........ 70
For the Teacher
History of the Taiwan Strait Conflict ........ 72
Handout #7
1996 Taiwan Strait Crisis ........ 74
Handout #8
Instructions: Groups with Editorials ........ 76
Handout #9
Instructions: Groups with Political Cartoons ........ 78
Editorial #1: Japan
"Chinese Puzzle" ........ 80
Political Cartoon #1: Japan
Political Cartoon from Japan ........ 81
Editorial #2: China
"Separatists Responsible for Cross-Strait Tension" ........ 82
Political Cartoon #2: China
Political Cartoon from China ........ 84
Editorial #3: United States
"U.S. Must Help Restart Taiwan–China Dialogue" ........ 85
Political Cartoon #3: United States
Political Cartoon from the United States ........ 86
Editorial #4: Taiwan
"Peace Is Worth Saving" ........ 87
Political Cartoon #4: Taiwan
Political Cartoon from Taiwan ........ 89
For the Teacher
Interpretations of Political Cartoons ........ 90

## lesson four

SECURITY ISSUES AND THE KOREAN PENINSULA ........ 91
Transparency
Map of the Korean Peninsula ........ 94
Handout #1
U.S.–Japan Security Alliance and the Korean Peninsula ........ 95
Country Information Sheet #1
Security Issues and the Korean Peninsula: U.S. Perspective ........ 97
Country Information Sheet #2
Security Issues and the Korean Peninsula: Japan's Perspective ........ 99
Country Information Sheet #3
Security Issues and the Korean Peninsula: North Korea's Perspective ........ 101
Country Information Sheet #4
Security Issues and the Korean Peninsula: South Korea's Perspective ........ 103

Country Information Sheet #5
    Security Issues and the Korean Peninsula:
    Russia's Perspective....105
Country Information Sheet #6
    Security Issues and the Korean Peninsula:
    China's Perspective....107

## lesson five

STRUGGLING FOR PEACE IN CAMBODIA ....109
Transparency
    Map of Cambodia....115
Handout #1
    A History of Cambodia....116
Transparency
    Cambodia after UNTAC....118
Handout #2
    UN Peacekeeping....119
Transparency
    UNTAC Facts....120
Handout #3
    UNTAC: Military and Civilian Police....121
Handout #4
    UNTAC: Electoral ....122
Handout #5
    UNTAC: Civil Administration....123
Handout #6
    UNTAC: Repatriation ....124
Handout #7
    UNTAC: Rehabilitation....125
Handout #8
    UNTAC: Human Rights....126
Handout #9
    UNTAC Worksheet ....127

## lesson six

THE RUSSO-JAPANESE "NORTHERN TERRITORIES" DISPUTE ....129
Handout #1
    Background of the Dispute....135
    Location of Disputed Territories in Northeast Asia....145
Information Sheet
    President Pro Tempore ....146
Information Sheet
    Tribunal Juror ....148
Handout #2
    Treaty Proposal ....149
Handout #3
    Presenting the Treaty ....151
Handout #4
    Possible Solutions ....152

- Transparency
  - Order of Proceedings ....154
- Handout #5
  - Notes on Proceedings ....155
- Handout #6
  - Reflection Questions ....157
- Character Information Sheet #1
  - The Russian Delegation: Diplomat ....158
- Character Information Sheet #2
  - The Russian Delegation: Military General ....159
- Character Information Sheet #3
  - The Russian Delegation: Politician (Member of Parliament) ....161
- Character Information Sheet #4
  - The Russian Delegation: Businessperson ....163
- Character Information Sheet #5
  - The Russian Delegation: Resident of Shikotan ....164
- Character Information Sheet #6
  - The Russian Delegation: Resident of Etorofu ....165
- Character Information Sheet #7
  - The Japanese Delegation: Diplomat ....166
- Character Information Sheet #8
  - The Japanese Delegation: Military General ....168
- Character Information Sheet #9
  - The Japanese Delegation: Politician ....170
- Character Information Sheet #10
  - The Japanese Delegation: Businessperson ....171
- Character Information Sheet #11
  - The Japanese Delegation: Former Resident of the "Northern Territories" ....172
- Character Information Sheet #12
  - The Japanese Delegation: Japanese Fisherman ....173
- Character Information Sheet #13
  - The U.S. Delegation: Diplomat ....174
- Character Information Sheet #14
  - The U.S. Delegation: Military General ....175
- Character Information Sheet #15
  - The U.S. Delegation: Politician ....177
- Character Information Sheet #16
  - The U.S. Delegation: Businessperson ....178
- Character Information Sheet #17
  - The Ainu/Environmental Delegation: Diplomat ....179
- Character Information Sheet #18
  - The Ainu/Environmental Delegation: Politician ....180
- Character Information Sheet #19
  - The Ainu/Environmental Delegation: Japanese Environmentalist ....182
- Character Information Sheet #20
  - The Ainu/Environmental Delegation: Russian Environmentalist ....184

## references

REFERENCES ....187

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*Unit Introduction*

# CHOICES IN INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT: WITH A FOCUS ON SECURITY ISSUES IN ASIA

## Rationale and Introduction to Lessons

> "At times it appears as if the United States has lost sight of the centrality of the U.S.–Japan Alliance as the structural cement for long-term peace, prosperity, and stability in Asia. In 1995, U.S.–Japan trade negotiations were allowed to become so acrimonious that the cumulative stock of goodwill and mutual trust was seriously depleted, leaving wounds that might take years to heal. U.S.–Japan relations are a complex blend of cooperation, competition, and conflict; but bare-knuckles diplomacy is a costly way of managing an alliance so essential to America's core interests in Asia. The costs are evident when the U.S.–Japan relationship is considered against the background of China's rise to power and the uncertainties looming on the Korean Peninsula."
>
> Okimoto, Daniel et al. *A United States Policy for the Changing Realities of East Asia: Toward a New Consensus.* 1996. pp. 8–9.

Many world leaders and scholars feel the U.S.–Japan Security Alliance is essential for long-term peace, prosperity, and stability in Asia. The purpose of this unit is to examine this alliance by introducing students to case studies of international conflict, with a focus on security issues in Asia.

Through each of the lessons of the curriculum unit, students will examine these case studies and explore various modes of international conflict resolution and conflict management. Students will be asked to question why and when one method is chosen by conflict participants over other methods. Students will also consider the positive and negative results of particular conflict resolution and conflict management methods.

Conflict is one of the most important concepts in present and future education. To ignore it as a social force worthy of recognition in an educational setting is an unrealistic view of how human destinies have been shaped. Conflict may be the most powerful force structuring the world today. While conflict pervades our lives, it seems that few students realize that conflicts can have both positive and negative consequences and that there are many conflict resolution and conflict management alternatives.

The ability to analyze any conflict is the student's foundation for a critical view of history and current events. The analytical techniques introduced in this curriculum unit help bring a wide range of conflicts into a more understandable context. Questions about the characteristics and mechanisms of conflict resolution and conflict management become practically relevant to students as they gain experience in identifying, analyzing, and understanding conflicts. Through the intelligent use of data and analysis, students can gain important insights into their worlds. This curriculum unit consists of six lessons, briefly described next.

Lesson 1 consists of four parts. The focus of parts 1–3 is to provide students with a conceptual framework for dealing with international security issues. Students develop a definition of security and conflict and learn several conflict management and conflict resolution methods. Students also discover how international conflict affects their personal lives and why the maintenance of international security is important. They are given a handout introducing them to many of the major conflictual situations in East Asia. Part 4 focuses on the U.S.–Japan Security Alliance. The alliance is studied as an example of how bilateral agreements can affect security. Students learn about the history, purpose, and goals of the U.S.–Japan Security Alliance. The impact this alliance has on other East Asian countries and conflicts is explored.

Lesson 2 examines U.S. military bases in Okinawa. Students examine conflicts over the U.S. military bases in Okinawa from varying perspectives. Students incorporate these perspectives into role plays for presentations in front of the class. Following the role plays, the class considers options for resolving or managing the conflicts surrounding the U.S. military bases in Okinawa.

Lesson 3 introduces students to the 1996 Taiwan Strait crisis. In part 1 of this lesson, students examine a brief history of cross-Strait relations and attitudes, written from either a Taiwanese or mainland Chinese perspective from 1949–1978, 1979–1987, or 1988–1995. In part 2, students, in small groups, examine Japanese, mainland Chinese, U.S., and Taiwanese editorials and political cartoons on the 1996 Taiwan Strait crisis.

Lesson 4 introduces students to security issues related to the Korean Peninsula. Students representing the countries of China, South Korea, North Korea, Japan, Russia, and the United States engage in the development of newspapers that present perspectives from these countries.

Lesson 5 examines Cambodia and the problem of resolving violent conflicts with long histories. Students learn about multilateral mediation and aid as a means of influencing domestic security and examine the United Nations' multidimensional peacekeeping mission to Cambodia in 1992.

Lesson 6 examines security issues between Russia and Japan, with a specific focus on the "Northern Territories" dispute. In this lesson, students will be given the historical background on the "Northern Territories" and how the islands that make up the "Northern Territories" came to be a barrier to Russo–Japanese relations. Students will be asked to characterize four major perspectives on the issue: Japanese, Russian, U.S., and Ainu (the indigenous people). They then apply their knowledge of the issue in a simulated international tribunal.

# unit introduction

## Unit Goals

Each of the six lessons in this curriculum unit has specific learning objectives listed. These objectives have been divided into *knowledge, attitude,* and *skill* objectives for students. The following list reflects goals for the curriculum unit as a whole.

In this curriculum unit, students will:

- learn about international conflict
- learn about security issues in Asia affecting the United States and Japan
- learn about the U.S.–Japan Security Alliance
- recognize that in any conflict situation a variety of alternative management and resolution methods exists
- recognize that the geographic and historical contexts of a conflict are important to understanding the current situation
- distinguish between conflict resolution and conflict management
- gain some tools to analyze international conflicts
- recognize how complex many conflicts are
- determine whether generalizations can be drawn about the preferability of one type of conflict resolution or conflict management method over others
- learn skills to enhance awareness and communication
- work effectively in small and large groups

## Materials

Handouts and primary source documents have been provided with each lesson to present students with a range of perspectives on the topic being studied. Permission is given to reproduce these handouts and documents for classroom use only. A list of materials used is provided in each lesson.

## Time, Suggested Sequence of Activities

*Choices in International Conflict: With a Focus on Security Issues in Asia* is divided into six lessons. We recommend at least two class periods for each lesson. Lesson 6 can take as long as four class periods. The various activities have been designed to give students multiple perspectives on the topic being studied.

## Small Group Roles

*Choices in International Conflict: With a Focus on Security Issues in Asia* engages students in many small group activities. Some of the suggested roles and responsibilities for students working in small groups are:

- **Facilitator**: responsible for reading instructions or designating someone in the group to read instructions, for assuring that the group is on task, and for communicating with the instructor
- **Recorder**: responsible for writing answers to questions, taking notes, etc.
- **Timekeeper**: responsible for keeping track of the time allocated for activities
- **Materials Manager**: responsible for obtaining and keeping track of materials used by the group

- **Harmonizer**: responsible for the group process, making sure, for example, that no one dominates the discussion and that everyone is participating
- **Reporter**: responsible for organizing group presentations and presenting results of activities to the class

Some lessons in this curriculum unit have specific small group roles listed by individual lesson.

### Grade Levels

Grades 11–12 (advanced) and community college

### Subjects

This curriculum unit is recommended for use in social studies, Asian studies, and contemporary issues classes.

### Equipment

Overhead projector

### Icons

For easier reference the following icons are used throughout the unit:

Notes to the Teacher

Student Cards

Homework

Small Group Activity

Transparency

### Policy Study References

*Change and Renewal: The United States–Japan Security Relationship into the 21st Century,* A Conference Report. Co-sponsored by Japan Institute of International Affairs and Pacific Forum, Center for Strategic and International Studies. April 1996.

Gong, Garrit W., Seizaburo Sato, and Tae hwan Ok, eds. *Korean Peninsula Developments and U.S.–Japan–South Korea Relations,* Volume 1. Washington, D.C.: The Center for Strategic and International Studies. 1993.

"Looking to the Future in Cambodia and Vietnam: Findings and Recommendations of American and Japanese Analysts," Pacific Basin

Studies Program, East Asian Institute, Columbia University, New York, NY, and Research Institute for Peace and Security, Tokyo. January 1994.

Okimoto, Daniel I. *The Japan–American Security Alliance: Prospects for the Twenty-First Century*. Stanford, CA: Asia/Pacific Research Center, Institute for International Studies, Stanford University. January 1998.

Okimoto, Daniel, et al. *A United States Policy for the Changing Realities of East Asia: Toward a New Consensus*. Stanford, CA: Asia/Pacific Research Center, Institute for International Studies, Stanford University. 1996.

U.S.–Japan Consultative Group on Policies Toward the People's Republic of China. *U.S.–Japan Policy Dialogue on China: Security Issues*. New York: The Asia Society. 1993.

*Lesson 1*

# THE U.S.–JAPAN SECURITY ALLIANCE

## Organizing Questions

- What do "security" and "conflict" mean in the context of international relations?
- What is the U.S.–Japan Security Alliance?

## Introduction

This lesson provides students with a conceptual framework for dealing with international security issues. Students develop an understanding of international insecurity and security by drawing comparisons with personal feelings of insecurity and security. They also develop a definition of security and conflict and are introduced to several useful international security terms. Students then give presentations which incorporate these terms and introduce their classmates to many of the major conflictual situations in East Asia.

This lesson also introduces the U.S.–Japan Security Alliance. The alliance is studied as an example of how bilateral agreements can affect security. Students learn about the history, purpose, and goals of the U.S.–Japan Security Alliance. The use of this alliance in ensuring Japanese and U.S. security interests in East Asia is explored.

## Objectives

*knowledge*

- to develop a useful and accessible definition of the terms "security" and "conflict" in personal and international contexts
- to learn the meanings of several important terms related to international security
- to identify the main conflictual situations in contemporary East Asia
- to understand the difference between conflict resolution and conflict management
- to learn how the U.S.–Japan Security Alliance was developed, the changes it has gone through, and its relevance today

*attitude*

- to recognize that security issues are accessible to high school students
- to appreciate the importance of maintaining international security
- to critically appraise and evaluate the opinions of others
- to provide alternative views or explanations of an issue

*skill*

- to present recently acquired information in a new format
- to articulate personal opinion in a group discussion
- to work harmoniously in small groups using effective listening and conversational skills
- to set and accomplish group goals by employing the social interaction skills of negotiation and compromise
- to create a position on a topic and publicly debate its validity
- to read opinion pieces critically

Materials

- Handout #1: International Insecurity Factors, one per 4–5 students
- Handout #2: Definitions: Selected International Security Terms, one per student
- Teacher's Guide for Defining International Security Terms
- Handout #3: Major Conflictual Situations in East Asia, one per student
- Transparency: Map of Asia
- Handout #4: History of the U.S.–Japan Security Alliance, one per student
- Handout #5: Japan's Security Environment in 1951, one copy
- Handout #6: The U.S.'s Security Environment in 1951, one copy
- Handout #7: Japan's Security Environment in 1996, one copy
- Handout #8: The U.S.'s Security Environment in 1996, one copy
- large sheet of poster paper
- felt-tip marker
- several pairs of scissors

Before class, cut out a large sheet of poster paper. Copy the table below onto the poster paper, leaving plenty of room in the six empty boxes for writing replies. Post this sheet on a wall where the entire class can see it.

| | What creates a sense of insecurity? | What creates a sense of security? | What are the consequences of feeling insecure? |
|---|---|---|---|
| Personal | | | |
| Countries | | | |

## Procedure— Part 1

1. Inform students that this lesson is an introduction to the field of international security and the U.S.–Japan Security Alliance. Inform them that while international security sounds very abstract and complex, they are entirely capable of understanding security issues and this lesson will give them the vocabulary and concepts needed to understand such issues. Point out that international security has several similarities with personal security. Part 1 of the lesson is devoted to defining international security by comparing it to personal security. In part 2, students will be introduced to terms related to international security, conflict management, and conflict resolution strategies. Students will also receive a concise list of many of the major conflictual situations in East Asia, and in part 3 of the lesson they will give presentations on these situations.

   Part 4 focuses on the U.S.–Japan Security Alliance, and students will analyze how this alliance has promoted security. Students will also learn how and why the alliance has changed over the years. With this background on international security and the U.S.–Japan Security Alliance, students will go on to examine case studies of conflict in East Asia in the remaining five lessons.

2. Explain to students that they should keep a folder of handouts for this unit.

3. To get students to begin thinking about security in personal terms, ask the following question:

- What makes you feel uneasy or at-risk at home?

  Write this question on the board and ask the class to brainstorm answers. Some examples are:

  –angry family members
  –continuing disputes with neighbors
  –violence in your neighborhood
  –lack of an alarm or security system
  –burglaries nearby
  –someone has threatened to hurt you
  –natural disasters
  –being at home alone
  –lack of family or friends
  –your house has been robbed or broken into before

  Choose some answers to write down on the sheet of poster paper under the question “What creates a sense of insecurity?” across from “Personal.” Repeat this process for the following question:

- What makes you feel secure at home?

  Some examples are:

  –alarm system
  –watchdog

–police
–Neighborhood Watch Program

Record these responses under the question "What creates a sense of security?" across from "Personal." The next activity will introduce students to security in an international context.

4. Have students divide into small groups of 4 or 5. Pass out Handout #1, International Insecurity Factors, to each group of students. Each group must cut out the cards and rank them from "most worrisome" to "least worrisome." Inform students that they have just looked at factors which cause countries to feel insecure. Write each group's "most worrisome" factor on the poster paper under the question "What creates a sense of insecurity?" across from "Countries."

5. Ask students what would make countries feel more secure.

   Some examples are:

   –a strong military
   –alliances with other countries
   –peaceful neighboring countries
   –dependable food supply
   –strong international influence
   –country is wealthy

   Record these responses under the question "What creates a sense of security?" across from "Countries."

6. Continue this process for the question "What are the consequences of feeling insecure?" for both "Personal" and "Countries." Note both physical and psychological consequences. The table on the poster paper should now be filled.

### Procedure—Part 2

1. Begin part 2 by asking students to review the table which compared personal security with international security. Ask them if they have thought of anything to add to the table.

2. Now ask students to brainstorm answers to the question "What are the differences between international and personal security?" (Note: Students may not find any difference, which is fine. This is simply a question designed to give students a basis for understanding international security issues by using personal security, to which they can relate, as a starting point.)

3. Divide students into groups of 4 or 5. Instruct each group to nominate a member to be the group's recorder. Tell each group to work together to come up with a definition for "security" and "conflict" in an international context. Give the groups about ten minutes to write the definitions.

4. Write "security" on the board and ask each group to give its definition for security. Write down important components of each group's definition, and after all groups have presented, examine what factors students have mentioned the most.

5. Repeat this process for the term "conflict."

6. Keeping the students in groups or allowing them to sit individually, distribute a copy of Handout #2, Definitions: Selected International Security Terms, to each student. Spend some time discussing these terms, making sure students understand what the terms mean when used to describe international conflicts. For examples which may help your students to understand the meaning of these terms, please refer to the Teacher's Guide for Defining International Security Terms.

7. Divide the class into ten groups. Depending on your class size, each group may have 2, 3, or 4 people. Pass out a copy of Handout #3, Major Conflictual Situations in East Asia, to each student. Assign each group one of the ten conflicts, and inform groups that they will be introducing these conflicts to the rest of the class by preparing a short, three-minute "news interview."

Use the Transparency, Map of Asia, to point out the geographic location of these conflictual situations.

During each broadcast, each group must use at least one of the new words listed on Handout #2, Definitions: Selected International Security Terms. Each group must also address the question "How is this situation perceived as insecure?" during the course of its broadcast.

Allow students time to prepare their broadcast for the remainder of the class.

Here is a sample format one group might use for their presentation: one member is a news anchor for CBS, ABC, NBC, or CNN who provides a brief, objective explanation of recent "breaking news" concerning the situation. Another member acts as an "analyst" of the situation, and briefly explains the source of the current problem. If there is a third or fourth member, they might be interviewees whose lives have been affected by the conflict. These roles are merely suggestive; the goal is for students to creatively introduce their classmates to these conflicts while articulating why the situation is insecure and using the international security terms in context.

## Procedure—Part 3

1. If necessary, give students a few minutes to complete preparation for their broadcasts.
2. Have each group present its broadcast.

3. To facilitate discussion of Handout #3, ask the class the following questions:

- Which of these conflicts have you heard of? Which do you know well enough to explain to someone?
- Which conflicts would you classify as "international" ones?
- Which conflict(s) seems most likely to lead to war or armed conflict?

These questions will allow you to assess how much students already know about the respective conflicts and will provide students with an opportunity to begin comparing conflicts.

For homework, distribute Handout #4, History of the U.S.–Japan Security Alliance, to each student. Inform students that they need to read the handout and think about the questions posed at the beginning of the handout. This background is necessary for part 4 of this lesson, which requires some prior knowledge of the U.S.–Japan Security Alliance.

## Procedure—Part 4

1. Inform students that in part 4 of this lesson, students will examine how nations try to address threats to their security, using the United States and Japan as case studies.

2. Divide the class into four groups. These groups will take on the roles of the United States in 1951, Japan in 1951, United States in 1996, and Japan in 1996. Give each group the appropriate handout, Handouts #5–8, describing their perceived security threats and three or four possible options for dealing with these threats. Each group must list the disadvantages and advantages each option would have, as well as listing their perceived threats to security. Each group must then choose one of the three or four choices for action. They will present these conclusions to the class, and tell them which choice they picked and why they believed it to be the best of the three or four options.

3. To debrief, address the following questions:

- Why do you think the United States and Japan decided to ally in 1952?
- Is there a difference between *perceived* security threats and actual security threats?
- What conditions are needed to make elimination of a nation's military possible without threatening a country's national security?
- What do you predict would happen if the U.S.–Japan Security Alliance ended?

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## Assessment Ideas

"News Interview"

In evaluating the simulated news interview, consider creativity, the appropriateness of the format, time management, and how clearly the students convey the information provided in Handout #3, Major Conflictual Situations in East Asia. Also look for proper use of the international security terms from Handout #2 and a convincing answer to the question "How is this situation perceived as insecure?"

Part 4

- Have each student assume the role of a newspaper editor from a newspaper in Japan or the United States. Have each student write an editorial summarizing his/her group's argument for choosing the option selected in part 4. Students may also write an editorial supporting or opposing the option another group chose and their argument for that option. Use these editorials to determine how well students draw upon their newly acquired knowledge related to the U.S.–Japan Security Alliance. How persuasive are their comments and/or points of view?
- Have students write an essay answering the debriefing question "Why do you think the United States and Japan decided to ally in 1952?" Consider persuasiveness, the incorporation of relevant facts, and the use of the concepts of international security and insecurity.
- Have students write an essay answering the debriefing question "What do you predict would happen if the U.S.–Japan Security Alliance ended?" Consider persuasiveness, the incorporation of relevant facts, thoroughness, and the use of the concepts of international security and insecurity.

## Policy Study References

*Change and Renewal: The United States–Japan Security Relationship into the 21st Century*, A Conference Report. Co-sponsored by Japan Institute of International Affairs and Pacific Forum, Center for Strategic and International Studies. April 1996.

Okimoto, Daniel I. *The Japan–America Security Alliance: Prospects for the Twenty-First Century*. Stanford, CA: Asia/Pacific Research Center, Institute for International Studies, Stanford University. January 1998.

# handout #1

## INTERNATIONAL INSECURITY FACTORS

Which of these would make you feel most uneasy or at risk as a country?

| | |
|---|---|
| weak military | enemies with many nations |
| poor population | little international influence |
| membership in only a few or no international organizations | some groups in your country wanting to separate and form a new country |
| small size compared to neighboring countries | sense of patriotism weak |
| economic dependence on other countries | dependence on other countries for military protection |
| history of violence with neighboring countries | involvement in territorial disputes with other countries |
| unstable government | frequent domestic uprisings |
| few treaties with other countries | likelihood of invasion or attack |
| enemy nations building up their military | other: |

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# DEFINITIONS:
# SELECTED INTERNATIONAL SECURITY TERMS

**bilateral:** "two-sided" or "two-country"; an adjective that refers to two countries acting jointly, as in the U.S.–Canada Free Trade Agreement of 1988.

**conflict (in an international context):** an antagonistic situation (as of divergent ideas, interests, or goals) between countries or an antagonistic action taken by one country towards another country or countries.

**conflict management:** an approach to conflict that emphasizes the need to control it and prevent it from escalating to higher levels.

**conflict resolution:** a way of resolving a conflict so that it no longer exists.

**constructive engagement:** the continuation of political and economic ties with regimes with which a state has severe disagreements in the expectation that the ties will eventually lead to changes in objectionable policies and practices.

**containment:** the U.S. foreign and military policy of limiting the expansion of communist influence, used principally against the USSR from the end of World War II until 1990.

**détente:** the lessening of tensions and improvement of relations between nations which were former foes, under which they agree to disagree peacefully.

**deterrence:** a condition in which nations are discouraged from fighting nuclear or conventional war. Deterrence restrains an enemy from actions through fear of the consequences that are likely to follow.

**multilateral:** many-sided; an adjective that refers to actions or policies that are taken in cooperation with other nations as part of a concerted approach to challenges or problems in the international system.

**nuclear nonproliferation:** measures designed to prevent the acquisition of nuclear weapons by nonnuclear countries.

**nuclear proliferation:** the spread of nuclear weapons to nonnuclear states, which many experts agree poses a serious threat to international peace and stability.

**security (in an international context):** being safe; a condition that results from protective (usually military) measures that ensure a state's inviolability from hostile acts.

**transparency:** a term relating to military actions taken in an open way and subject to observation and monitoring, thereby providing reassurance to other states that there is no attempt to achieve strategic or tactical surprise.

**unilateral:** one-sided; an adjective that refers to an action taken by a country acting singly, and not dependent on or conditional on any action by another country. For example, unilateral nuclear disarmament would occur if one state divested itself of its nuclear weapons while other states did not.

# TEACHER'S GUIDE FOR DEFINING INTERNATIONAL SECURITY TERMS

**conflict:** Just as with security, emphasize that *perception* is just as important as reality. If country B acquires new weaponry to modernize its military but country A believes that B wants to use these weapons to attack A, country A will perceive conflict with country B. This initial perception often causes leaders to act in ways that produce actual conflict. For this reason, diplomatic visits and frequent consultations contribute to security by decreasing the possibility of misperceptions which may lead to conflicts.

**conflict management vs. conflict resolution:** Simply put, this is a distinction between merely avoiding further conflict (management) and actually solving the conflict (resolution). Conflict management describes efforts to prevent a conflict from becoming more serious; here, maintaining the status quo is the goal. If two parties are trying to end a conflict so that it no longer exists, they are seeking conflict resolution. An example of conflict management in the international arena would be the armistice which ended the Korean War. Both sides still disagree with each other and no peace treaty has been signed, but there is no longer any large-scale military fighting. An example of conflict resolution is the reunification of Germany at the end of the Cold War (as the conflict between West and East Germany no longer existed, a solution which was preferred by both sides).

**containment vs. constructive engagement:** Two common foreign policies that countries use to deal with other countries with which they are in conflict. Containment is a hostile stance which seeks to prevent the opposing country from achieving its goals. For example, in the 1960s the United States fought communist forces in Vietnam and used the CIA to undermine Soviet expansion efforts. The goal was to keep communist and Soviet power from spreading. Conversely, constructive engagement is a much less active and friendlier approach which seeks to bring about desired change by increasing the impact a country can have on the country it hopes to change. For example, the United States in the 1990s has sought to change the human rights situation in China by deepening economic and political links with China, hoping that these links will give the United States more ability to influence China's decision-makers.

**deterrence:** An important concept, especially in understanding the rationale for having nuclear weapons. Deterrence theory says that war can be avoided by having a military strong enough to scare other countries from fighting your country. Nuclear weapons are the best example of deterrence because their use would result in certain and widespread destruction; therefore any nation with strong nuclear weapons will not likely be attacked because the aggressing nation would suffer great destruction from nuclear counterattack. Some believe that nuclear deterrence kept the USSR and the United States from attacking each other directly during the Cold War and that nuclear weapons therefore saved many lives.

**security:** Defining this term is complex; for our purposes it can mean "feeling safe from hostile acts." This unit will look only at military, territorial, and power sources of international conflict (as opposed to other security threats such as famine, copyright infringement, drug trafficking, and food supply dependence). The key point is that complete security is a state that can never really be achieved; however, situations can be ranked on a spectrum from "very insecure" to "relatively secure." For example, there was a great deal of military insecurity for the United States during the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1963, while Switzerland's condition in the early 1990s would be considered quite stable.

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# MAJOR CONFLICTUAL SITUATIONS IN EAST ASIA

**Cambodia**

Cambodia has been in a state of civil war since 1979. That year, Vietnam invaded Cambodia and set up its own government. Most of the world continued to support the old regime, composed of Cambodia's prince and a communist group called the Khmer Rouge. These two factions fought a guerrilla war throughout the 1980s and early 1990s. Vietnam's withdrawal of its troops in 1989 gave new hope for peace, and UN-sponsored elections were held in 1993, in which Prince Norodom Ranariddh was elected prime minister. However, the group formerly backed by Vietnam threatened civil war, so their leader Hun Sen was allowed to be a co-leader of the government. The Khmer Rouge continue their civil war, and Hun Sen staged a coup in June 1997, creating a new crisis for Cambodia.

**East Timor**

East Timor was a Portuguese colony until 1975, and most East Timorese are Catholic. Indonesia sent troops into East Timor in 1975. While most East Timorese would probably have preferred East Timor to remain a Portuguese colony, Indonesia annexed East Timor in 1976. A group called Fretelin, with the support of most of the people, has continued to fight for East Timor's independence. In response, Indonesia has cracked down on Catholicism, murdered and jailed hundreds of thousands of East Timorese, resettled Muslims into the territory, and moved more troops into East Timor.

**The Korean Peninsula**

North Korea and South Korea are still officially at war, despite the end of armed fighting with the cease-fire agreement which ended the Korean War. Both Korean states maintain a strong military, with U.S. troops and bases stationed in South Korea to back up South Korean forces. Periodic incidents keep tensions high, and both sides remain fearful of each other. Since 1953 both sides have regularly called for the reunification of Korea, but on terms unacceptable to the other side. North Korea's recent famine has led many to speculate that the two Koreas will soon reunite as North Korea finds that it can no longer support itself alone.

**Myanmar (Burma)**

The State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC), which has been in power since 1988, has punished anyone whom it sees as a threat to its rule. Though many Burmese oppose the SLORC because of its violent and harsh rule, all other political parties are repressed. The leader of the opposition to the SLORC, Aung San Suu Kyi, has lobbied for reformation of Burma's political system, but the government has kept her from having any impact.

**Northern Territories Dispute**

The Northern Territories, which comprise a series of islands to the northeast of Japan, have been under Soviet and Russian occupation since the end of World War II. The question of who owns these islands has prevented Russia and Japan from signing a formal peace treaty to end World War II. Japan's claim to them is based on the position that they are not part of the Kurile Islands that Japan renounced in the San Francisco Peace Treaty and that they have never been under foreign possession, always constituting an integral part of Japan. Russia maintains that there exists a series of international agreements under which these islands have legitimately become part of its own territory. The dispute still continues with no concrete prospect of settlement in sight.

# handout #3

### Spratly Islands

This archipelago of small, uninhabited islands in the South China Sea is claimed by China, Vietnam, Malaysia, Brunei, Taiwan, and the Philippines. The possible presence of oil and natural gas on the islands and control of the sea lanes make the Spratly Islands important. All countries involved have agreed to settle the dispute peacefully.

### The Taiwan Issue

The Nationalist Party lost the Chinese Civil War and fled to Taiwan in 1949. Since then, both the Nationalists and the Communists on the mainland have claimed that they are the true rulers of China. China has made several small attacks on Taiwan, but armed conflict stopped in 1979 and the two countries have grown closer economically and socially since then. Nevertheless, the situation remains tense. Recent events in Taiwan have led China to believe that Taiwan is trying to declare independence, and conflict increased during 1995 and 1996 before returning more recently to the more cooperative but still uneasy state of relations of the early 1990s.

### Tibet

Though Tibet has been ruled as a province by China since 1949, Tibetans have a different culture, language, and religion from ethnic Chinese. China has encouraged ethnic Chinese to settle there, has suppressed the Tibetans' religion of Tibetan Buddhism, and has destroyed temples and other symbols of Tibetan culture. Though some of these actions were taken as a result of the ideology of the Chinese Communist Party, the government has recently claimed that it is leaving Tibetan culture alone and is only trying to develop Tibet's economy. Tibetans have attempted to regain their independence from China, but the Chinese government will not consider letting Tibet go. Frequent fights break out between pro-independence Tibetans and Chinese government forces in Tibet.

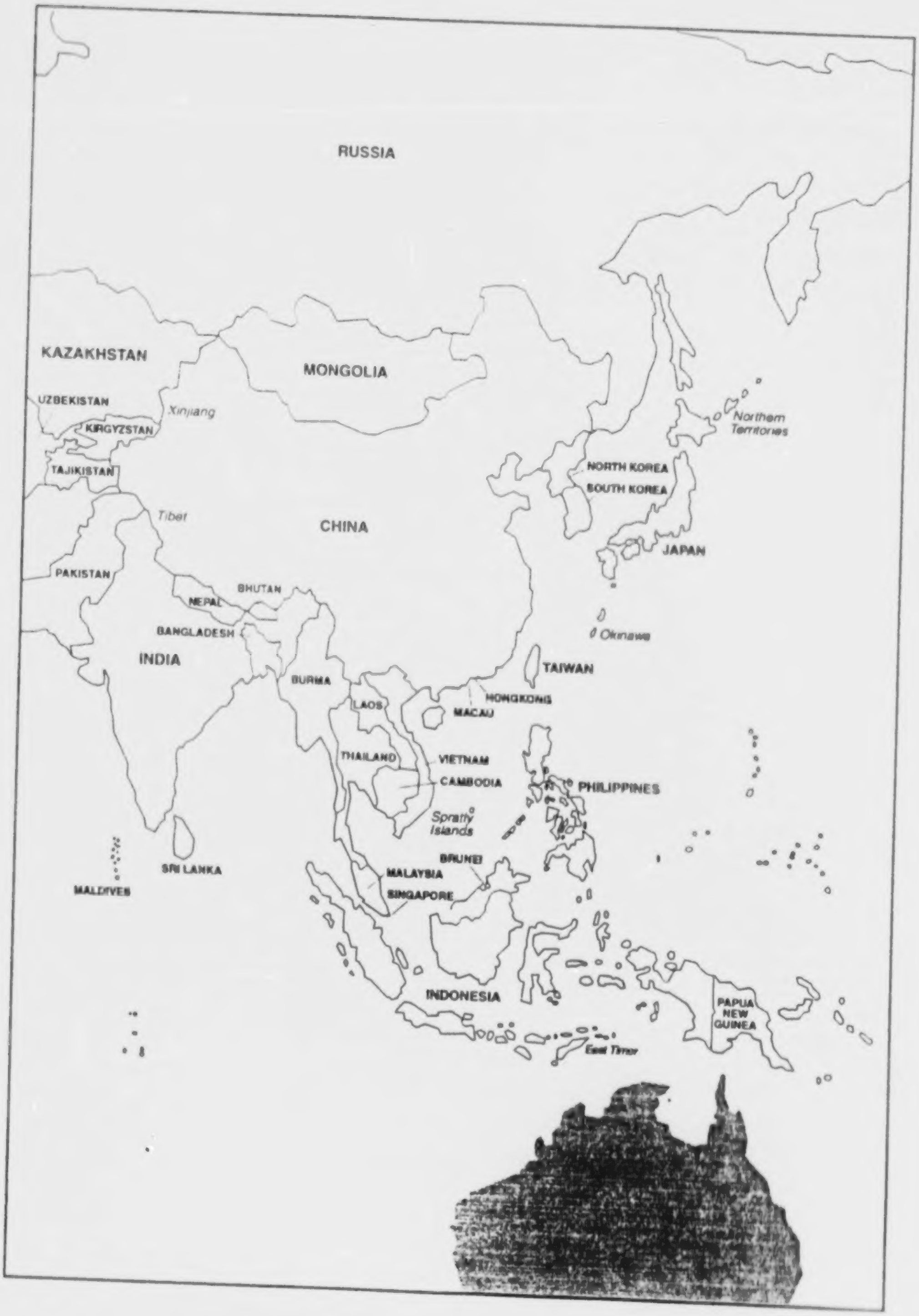
### U.S. Military Presence on Okinawa

An island of south Japan, Okinawa has 20 percent of its land covered with U.S. military bases. In a 1996 vote, 89 percent of Okinawan residents wanted U.S. bases removed from their island because of crime by U.S. servicemen, military accidents, noise pollution, and environmental problems. Many Okinawans call on the Japanese government to move the bases to other islands of Japan, which do not have such a high concentration of bases. The U.S. and Japanese governments claim that the U.S. military presence is necessary to ensure the security of Japan and East Asia and that Okinawa is the best location for U.S. forces.

### Xinjiang/Northwest China

This situation is similar to Tibet. Xinjiang is a province in northwest China. Most of the people living in Xinjiang are Muslims of Turkic descent. While most Muslims do not seek independence, they want China to respect their religious and cultural differences. Riots occur occasionally as Muslims in Xinjiang protest against Chinese rule.

# MAP OF ASIA


RUSSIA
KAZAKHSTAN
MONGOLIA
UZBEKISTAN
Xinjiang
KIRGYZSTAN
TAJIKISTAN
Northern Territories
NORTH KOREA
SOUTH KOREA
Tibet
CHINA
JAPAN
PAKISTAN
BHUTAN
NEPAL
BANGLADESH
Okinawa
INDIA
TAIWAN
BURMA
HONGKONG
MACAU
LAOS
THAILAND
VIETNAM
CAMBODIA
PHILIPPINES
Spratly Islands
BRUNEI
MALAYSIA
SRI LANKA
MALDIVES
SINGAPORE
INDONESIA
PAPUA NEW GUINEA
East Timor

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**handout #4**

# HISTORY OF THE U.S.–JAPAN SECURITY ALLIANCE

Consider the following questions as you read through this handout.

1. By signing the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty in 1952, how did the United States and Japan change their security situation at that time?
2. What changes have been made to the original treaty and why were these changes made?

---

The need for the U.S.–Japan Security Alliance originated in the aftermath of World War II. After Japan surrendered, Allied forces occupied and completely disarmed Japan. The Japanese adopted a new constitution which made them the only major power in world history to renounce the use of war or military force except for the purpose of self-defense. Article 9 of the U.S.-drafted 1947 Japanese Constitution reads:

> Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes.
>
> In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized.

The inclusion of this pacifist article was a result of the Allies' goal of making sure Japan would not rise to become a military threat again. The Japanese people, remembering the destruction that World War II and especially the two nuclear bombs dropped on Japan had caused, supported this anti-military stance. While Japan has Self Defense Forces trained to defend Japan against attack, these forces cannot be used for offensive attacks.

By renouncing war, the Japanese had no way to defend themselves from outside aggression, however. During the early 1950s, Japan feared military aggression by the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union and Japan were former enemies, and territorial disputes had prevented the two countries from signing a peace treaty to formally end World War II. The United States, also fearing the spread of communism and of Soviet expansion, was willing to keep its troops in Japan in order to deter any Soviet military action. Both countries thus signed the United States–Japan Security Treaty, which stated that "U.S. armed forces in and about Japan may be utilized to contribute to the maintenance of peace and security in the Far East and to the security of Japan against armed attack."

The treaty went into effect in 1952. Although it gave Japan protection against attack, many Japanese felt that the treaty was biased. The United States was not actually required to defend Japan, U.S. forces were allowed to interfere in domestic riots, the United States could keep nuclear weapons in Japan without Japan's permission, and both countries would have to agree to terminate the treaty. By 1958, Japan asked to renew the treaty to make it more equal. A new agreement, called the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security, was signed in 1960 and replaced the 1952 agreement. The 1960 treaty, still in effect today, introduced the following changes:

- The United States is now explicitly committed to defending Japan.
- The United States is not allowed to interfere in internal conflicts (such as riots).

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- Japan is now allowed to grant military transit rights to third nations wishing to use U.S. base facilities in Japan.
- Both countries will meet occasionally to consult regarding the treaty's implementation (increased consultation).
- The United States is required to consult with Japan over the proposed presence of nuclear weapons on U.S. bases in Japan.
- The United States must defend the Ryukyu Islands (a chain of islands extending southwest from Kyushu, the southernmost of the four main islands of Japan; Okinawa is included among the Ryukyu Islands) and consult with Japan about taking action there if these islands are threatened.
- Beginning in 1970, either side may terminate the treaty by giving notice to the other nation of its intention of doing so.

In the mid-1960s, as U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War increased, Japan began to worry that it would also be forced to fight in the war. Antiwar groups in Japan protested the use of U.S. bases in Japan to supply forces in Vietnam. As 1970 approached, the first year in which Japan would be able to vote to terminate the security alliance, the anti-war groups and others called for the Japanese government to end the security alliance. However, Japanese Prime Minister Eisaku Sato and U.S. President Richard Nixon signed an agreement in 1969 which gave Okinawa and the Ryukyu Islands, which the U.S. had continued to occupy, back to Japan and extended the security alliance to cover these areas; withdrew all nuclear weapons from Okinawa to come into agreement with Japanese prohibition of nuclear weapons; and said that Japan recognized that "the security of Taiwan and South Korea is closely linked to its own security." These measures satisfied the protesters, and Sato let the treaty extend automatically.

With the end of the Cold War, many experts called on Japan and the United States to update the security alliance to conform to new circumstances. Japanese Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto and President Bill Clinton decided in 1996 to review and update the bilateral defense guidelines for the agreement. The new guidelines for the agreement were issued in fall 1997. While the basic terms of the 1960 treaty are unchanged, the new guidelines make the responsibilities much more specific. For example, if a military conflict arose in the Korean Peninsula, Japan would supply air and naval facilities, materials, and fuel—but not weapons and ammunition. Previously, there wasn't even a policy on whether Japan would supply U.S. forces with fuel. Also, the treaty now covers a broader territorial range. The new guidelines say the treaty will cover situations in the entire "Asia/Pacific region," meaning that regions such as Taiwan and the Spratly Islands in the South China Sea would be protected by the treaty.

# handout #5

## JAPAN'S SECURITY ENVIRONMENT IN 1951

*While reading the following handout, make note of Japan's biggest security concerns in 1951.*

After Japan surrendered to the Allied forces to end World War II, Allied troops occupied Japan and completely disarmed the country. The primary motivation was to establish conditions so "that Japan will not again become a menace to the peace and security of the world." Most Japanese felt that the defeat and destruction their country had suffered in World War II was a result of militarism, and they generally welcomed disarmament. This spirit of pacifism found unique expression in the new 1947 Constitution's Article 9, which renounced war and prohibited the maintenance of armed forces. This provision makes Japan the only major power in history to reject war as a means of solving international conflict. Although the 1947 Constitution was essentially written by the Allied forces in Japan, Article 9 enjoys widespread support among the Japanese populace. Japan supports United Nations principles of peacefully resolving disputes.

Japan is still rebuilding from World War II, so is not viewed as a threat by other nations. While some Japanese advocate friendly relations with the Soviet Union, most Japanese are wary of possible Soviet expansionism and of violence on the Korean Peninsula spilling over to Japan. Japan and the Soviet Union have a history of conflict dating from 1895, and a dispute over the Northern Territories (a series of islands to the north of Japan which both the Soviet Union and Japan claim as theirs) kept the two countries from signing a peace treaty to formally end World War II. Many experts also believe that the Soviet Union supported North Korea's invasion of South Korea in 1950. Since the Soviet border is near Japan, there are strong fears that Soviet aggression may lead to an attack on Japan. Many Japanese are also worried about the spread of communism in general, since three of its neighbors—China, North Korea, and the Soviet Union—are communist.

U.S. military bases in Japan are being used to support the U.S. war effort in East Asia, causing Japan to be concerned that they will get in the middle of a war they don't want to be in.

The atrocities and destruction committed by the Japanese military throughout Asia in World War II make alliances and cooperation with other Asian countries highly unlikely at this time. Citizens of China, Korea, and Southeast Asian countries which Japan occupied still view Japan with fear and disgust, even though Japan's new 1947 Constitution and strong anti-war sentiment in Japan prevent Japanese military action at this time.

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Keeping Japan's biggest security concerns in 1951 in mind, discuss the three choices for action listed below. List disadvantages and advantages for each of the options, as well as listing each option's perceived threats to security. Your group must then choose one of the three choices for action. Your group will present this choice to the class, and inform the class why your group believed it to be the best of the three options.

1. Sign treaty with the United States, allowing the United States to keep its forces in Japan in exchange for protecting Japan from attack.
2. Continue without any armed forces, maintaining security through the United Nations and through diplomacy and friendly relations with other countries.
3. Revise constitution, allowing Japan to build up a military big enough to deter the Soviet Union or North Korea from attacking.

# THE U.S.'S SECURITY ENVIRONMENT IN 1951

*While reading the following handout, make note of the U.S.'s biggest security concerns in 1951.*

U.S. military superiority and the lack of U.S. territories in East Asia make invasion of U.S. lands highly unlikely, if not impossible. The real U.S. concern in East Asia is the spread of communism. The Cold War has already begun, with the United States and the Soviet Union competing for dominance in the world. The invasion of U.S. ally South Korea by Soviet-friendly North Korea has increased fears that the "domino theory" will become true. The "domino theory" is a belief that one communist country will engage in aggressive behavior and influence neighboring countries to become communist, and eventually a whole line of countries will "fall to communism." Thus, the "American way of life" and "American values" such as democracy, capitalism, and free trade seem to be threatened in East Asia.

U.S. efforts to reform Japan's political, military, and legal structures have been quite successful. Japan's wartime military has been disbanded, a U.S.-drafted constitution is now in use, and Japan supports the goals of the United Nations. Japan's constitution forbids war as a means of resolving international conflict, but does not negate the right of self-defense. Japan is thus a possible ally in the U.S. effort to contain communism.

There is a strong U.S. military presence still in Japan as part of the Allied occupational forces. Military bases there have been very useful in supporting the nearby Korean War effort, and U.S. military bases in Japan allow the United States to respond to any threat in East Asia much more quickly than if these forces were in Hawaii or the West Coast of the United States. Many fear that Japan and other U.S. allies in East Asia, most of whom are poor and militarily weak countries, would be in danger of invasion by the Soviet Union, China, and other communist countries if U.S. forces were absent from the region.

Anti-communist feelings are strong among the U.S. people. Communism is seen as a threat to U.S. freedoms and markets for trade. Therefore, support for international military operations to respond to aggressive communist actions is strong.

**contain**: to limit the expansion of communist influence.

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Keeping the U.S.'s biggest security concerns in 1951 in mind, discuss the four choices for action listed below. List disadvantages and advantages for each of the options, as well as listing each option's perceived threats to security. Your group must then choose one of the four choices for action. Your group will present this choice to the class, and inform the class why your group believed it to be the best of the four options.

1. Sign a treaty with Japan to keep U.S. troops and bases there to protect Japan from attack and to maintain peace and security in the region.
2. Evacuate U.S. troops from East Asia and trust that countries there will keep peace among themselves.
3. Evacuate forces, sign non-aggression treaties with communist countries in region (China, the Soviet Union, North Korea) in hopes of ensuring peace in East Asia.
4. Negotiate an international agreement to recognize Japan's independence and neutrality.

# handout #7

## JAPAN'S SECURITY ENVIRONMENT IN 1996

*While reading the following handout, make note of Japan's biggest security concerns in 1996.*

The Korean Peninsula is Japan's most immediate security concern. Japan is firmly opposed to the acquisition of nuclear weapons by North Korea and is supportive of efforts to end this threat through negotiations.

The situation in Russia must be closely watched. The prospects for political and economic reform are not optimistic, and the military may be regaining its influence. Japan is also worried about the lack of control over Russian weapons by growing disorder in Russia itself. Russia's military forces, however, do not pose an immediate military threat to Japan.

As Russia has become less threatening to Japan, China has grown in strength. It continues to increase its military spending and also conducts nuclear tests. However, few see China as a threat to Japanese territory or way of life. Rather, the chief concern is that China will seek to establish political dominance in the region. China's recent military exercises near Taiwan heightened Japanese fears that China is becoming more aggressive.

Aside from Northeast Asia, Japan is concerned with the security of its petroleum supply route through the Indian Ocean and Southeast Asia. Approximately 76 percent of Japan's petroleum comes from the Middle East. Political instability in the Middle East, or in countries along this long supply route, could strongly affect Japan's economy.

The absence of war in East Asia for the last 45 years has contributed to Japan's remarkable economic growth. Most experts attribute this period of peace and stability to the U.S.–Japan Security Alliance, which has deterred aggressive action in all of East Asia. Indeed, government support for the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty has remained high. However, local protests against U.S. military bases has grown, especially after three U.S. soldiers raped an Okinawan schoolgirl in 1995. More and more Japanese citizens are calling for the closure of the U.S. bases.

At the same time, the United States is asking Japan to assume more of the burden for defending itself by paying more to support U.S. troops and by building up its own military.

Most East Asian countries support the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty because it prevents Japan from being a military power. The memories of Japanese aggression in World War II lead countries in the region to firmly oppose any increased military operations by Japan. These countries would feel threatened if Japan were to develop its own army, and would likely increase their own military ability in response, possibly leading to an arms race. Japan's economy and superior technology would allow it to become a strong military power in a short amount of time, a thought which scares other East Asian nations.

However, warfare and the military are still strongly opposed in Japan, as are nuclear weapons. In 1968, Japan adopted the "Three Non-nuclear Principles," which stated that it would not possess or allow nuclear weapons or allow them to be introduced into Japan. Amending the Constitution to allow Japan to engage in international armed conflict or to possess nuclear weapons would prove extremely difficult, if not impossible, in the midst of popular opposition.

# handout #7

Keeping Japan's biggest security concerns in 1996 in mind, discuss the three choices for action listed below. List disadvantages and advantages for each of the options, as well as listing each option's perceived threats to security. Your group must then choose one of the three choices for action. Your group will present this choice to the class, and inform the class why your group believed it to be the best of the three options.

1. Renew the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty as is, adding guidelines to make it more detailed so that it applies to a larger area (the Asia/Pacific region).
2. Terminate the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty, amend the Constitution to allow a military, and increase military spending to achieve a top-notch military good enough to deter any attack.
3. Terminate the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty, acquire nuclear weapons for defense of Japanese territory, but continue to operate without a military.

# handout #8

## THE U.S.'S SECURITY ENVIRONMENT IN 1996

*While reading the following handout, make note of the U.S.'s biggest security concerns in 1996.*

The end of the Cold War has had a tremendous impact on U.S. perceptions of its defense policies and the international environment. The democratic revolutions in Eastern Europe in 1989, the decisive victory over Iraqi forces in Kuwait in 1991, and the collapse that same year of the Soviet Union all bolstered the perception that there is no credible, system-wide military threat to the territory of the United States or vital U.S. interests in the near future. In the East Asian region, the United States is quite content with the current situation. It appears unlikely that U.S. forces stationed in East Asia will see action in the near future.

Within this generally peaceful environment, North Korea stands out as the major concern. North Korea continues to engage in provocative military behavior, such as entering the demilitarized zone and attempting to land a submarine in South Korea in 1996. Such actions make it seem that the current period of unstable peace could erupt into fighting with little notice.

Most Asian countries want the United States to maintain its military presence in East Asia. They feel that the United States is the only country with the economic, political, and military strength to secure peace in the region. Besides blocking aggression between North and South Korea, many believe that the U.S. military presence has prevented fighting between China and Taiwan and has ensured the peace which has allowed the economies of East and Southeast Asian nations to prosper. Were the United States to leave, many fear that China and Japan would engage in a rivalry to fill the power vacuum. The U.S.–Japan Security Treaty ensures that Japan will not engage in a military buildup and deters China from overly aggressive action.

However, there are several concerns about maintaining U.S. troops in Japan. The U.S. public is less concerned about foreign policy now, and does not support military action which may result in harm to U.S. troops, especially if this action occurs in faraway places such as East Asia. As there has been a push for the United States to cut its military budget, it has asked Japan to take on more of the burden of its own defense. Japan has found it hard to do so due to anti-military sentiment among the Japanese people and due to its Constitution, which prohibits the existence of more than a self-defense military. Recent disagreements with Japan over trade and economics have eroded some of the friendship between the two countries. Since East Asia is now the region with which the United States trades most, the security of the East Asian region is vital to the United States.

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Keeping the U.S.'s biggest security concerns in 1996 in mind, discuss the three choices for action listed below. List disadvantages and advantages for each of the options, as well as listing each option's perceived threats to security. Your group must then choose one of the three choices for action. Your group will present this choice to the class, and inform the class why your group believed it to be the best of the three options.

1. Renew the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty as is, adding guidelines to make it more detailed and applicable to a larger area (the Asia/Pacific region).
2. Terminate the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty, remove troops from East Asia, and let Asian nations manage their own security.
3. Terminate the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty but start a multilateral security forum which includes the United States and all East Asian countries. Rely on this body to maintain security in East Asia.

*Lesson 2*

# U.S. MILITARY BASES IN OKINAWA

## Organizing Questions

- What are some advantages and disadvantages of the U.S.–Japan Security Alliance?
- How can conflicts between local concerns and national concerns be managed or resolved?

## Introduction

In this lesson, students examine conflicts over the U.S. military bases in Okinawa from varying perspectives. Students incorporate these perspectives into role plays for presentations in front of the class. Following the role plays, the class considers options for resolving or managing the conflicts surrounding the U.S. military bases in Okinawa.

## Objectives

*knowledge*

- to recognize that there are several possible ways to respond to a conflict
- to learn various perspectives concerning the U.S. military bases in Okinawa
- to learn various conflict resolution and conflict management strategies

*attitude*

- to appreciate the balance between national and local concerns

*skill*

- to utilize primary resources to construct a role play
- to assume roles in a role play

## Materials

- Handout #1: Conflict Resolution and Conflict Management: Distinction and Methods, one per student
- Transparency: Location of Okinawa in Northeast Asia
- Handout #2: Role Play Information Sheet, one per group
- Okinawan Citizens' Statement: A Message to Our American Friends from Concerned Japanese Citizens, one per group
- Government Statement: Japan–U.S. Joint Declaration on Security Alliance for the 21st Century, one per group
- Japanese Government Statement: Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto, one per group

- Okinawan Government Letter: Governor Masahide Ota, one per group
- U.S. Government Statement: Former U.S. Secretary of Defense William Perry, one per group
- U.S. Military Perspective: U.S. Military Officer Stationed in Okinawa, one per group
- Statistician: U.S. Bases in Okinawa and Mainland Japan, Statistics, one per group
- Historian: U.S. Bases in Okinawa, a Timeline, one per group
- Cards: U.S. Bases in Okinawa, Options, one set per group

### Procedure—Part 1

1. Distribute copies of Handout #1, Conflict Resolution and Conflict Management: Distinction and Methods, to each student. Point out that the distinctions and methods introduced in this handout will be utilized in this lesson, which introduces them to the conflict surrounding U.S. bases in Okinawa.

2. Using the Transparency, Location of Okinawa in Northeast Asia, point out Okinawa's location relative to Russia, the Korean Peninsula, Taiwan, and the main islands of Japan.

3. Inform students that on May 30, 1997, the *New York Times* ran an advertisement from the Japan Coalition on the U.S. Military Bases called "A Message to Our American Friends from Concerned Japanese Citizens." Read the following opening statement in the advertisement to the class:

   > We are concerned that the relations of trust between the United States and Japan may be seriously jeopardized by the continued presence of huge U.S. forces in Japan, specifically Marines in Okinawa. The people of Okinawa and people throughout Japan living near the U.S. bases have been deprived of the right to live in peace and to live with dignity. Please Remove Your Marines from Our Soil!

   The advertisement lists five primary areas of conflict that Okinawan citizens have against the U.S. military bases in Okinawa.

4. Inform students that these five primary areas of conflict will be discussed in this lesson. Perspectives on the U.S. military bases in Okinawa from Japanese and U.S. government officials will also be presented in this lesson.

5. Depending on the number of students in the class, assign 4–5 students to work in groups. Each group will be developing a role play using the following:

- Okinawan Citizens' Statement: A Message to Our American Friends from Concerned Japanese Citizens
- Government Statement: Japan–U.S. Joint Declaration on Security Alliance for the 21st Century
- Japanese Government Statement: Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto
- Okinawan Government Letter: Governor Masahide Ota
- U.S. Government Statement: Former U.S. Secretary of Defense, William Perry
- U.S. Military Perspective: U.S. Military Officer Stationed in Okinawa

Distribute one copy of the statements above to each group. In addition, have each group assign two students to assume the following roles:

- Statistician: U.S. Bases in Okinawa and Mainland Japan, Statistics
- Historian: U.S. Bases in Okinawa, a Timeline

Note that the statisticians and historians will not participate in the role play but provide important information in preparation for the role play.

6. Announce that the role plays will take place during a future class period. Distribute Handout #2, Role Play Information Sheet, and allow students class time to prepare for the role plays.

### Procedure—Part 2

1. Before having the first group perform its role play, distribute copies of the cards, U.S. Bases in Okinawa, Options, to each group in the audience.
2. Allow the first group to perform its role play. Following the role play, encourage students in the audience to ask questions of the actors. Questions can also be directed to the statistician and historian.

   Repeat for other groups.
3. After all groups have performed, have students in the audience take a few minutes to consider the options listed on the U.S. Bases in Okinawa, Option cards. Have each student choose the option he/she feels best manages or resolves the U.S. bases in Okinawa conflict. Tally responses and ask students for their reasons for choosing these options.
4. Debrief with the following questions:

- Which issues were the Okinawans most concerned about? the government officials?

- What are some other instances in which the national government seems to be in conflict with a segment of its citizens?
- How would you react if the national government decided to build a subway station near your house? a landfill? a prison? a military base?
- Do you see a "middle ground" in this conflict? What conditions would be necessary for the conflict to be resolved?
- How did each group choose which perspectives to include in their role play? What were the criteria they used in the selection?

## Assessment Ideas

A suggested assessment approach to use in this lesson is a reflective journal, in which students record their attitudes toward the concepts and information provided in this lesson. You may consider having students identify certain sections of their journals for teacher and/or other students' comments.

Have students write an essay arguing for one of the "U.S. Bases in Okinawa" options. To assess students' essays, you may want to consider some of the following questions:

- How effectively are concepts described?
- Are diverse perspectives presented?
- How well is the information synthesized?
- Is the essay well written in terms of syntax and grammar?

## Policy Study Reference

*Change and Renewal: The United States–Japan Security Relationship into the 21st Century*, A Conference Report. Co-sponsored by Japan Institute of International Affairs and Pacific Forum, Center for Strategic and International Studies. April 1996.

# CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT: DISTINCTIONS AND METHODS

**Conflict Resolution**
A participant using a method of conflict resolution wants to *resolve* the conflict so that it no longer exists.

**Conflict Management**
A participant using a method of conflict management does not want to resolve the conflict, but also does not want the conflict to escalate.

**Some General Methods for Conflict Resolution and Conflict Management**

| | |
|---|---|
| **Negotiate** | Participants can talk in order to resolve or manage their conflict. Points of agreement and disagreement are discussed. Negotiation may be informal, which means that parties discuss the issues in an unstructured environment, or it may be formal, which means that participants use a structured system to reach agreement. Two types of negotiation are arbitration and mediation. In arbitration, participants select a neutral third party to hear both sides and to make a decision by which the participants have agreed in advance to be bound. In mediation, a third party is selected by participants to hear both sides and to suggest possible courses of action; these suggestions are not binding. |
| **Litigate** | A participant can sue the other participant in civil court or have charges brought against the other in criminal court; nations may file complaints against each other in the International Court of Justice (ICJ). |
| **Hold an Election** | In some settings, especially those within a single state or national government, the process of voting to determine the outcome of a conflict is available. For example, some citizens may want to change their state's environmental laws. They can write a proposal and put it on the ballot, allowing the state's voters to decide the outcome of the conflict. |
| **Compete** | A participant may work singly to achieve its objective, hoping that it will reach its objective sooner than the other participant. Competition can be economic, military, political, social, etc. |
| **Use Force** | Military or other physical force may be used to coerce a participant into changing its behavior. |
| **Withdraw** | A participant may change its goals in order to withdraw from the conflict. |

# handout #1

| | |
|---|---|
| **Compromise** | A participant indicates that it is willing to compromise its position and thereby changes its primary goals. |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Use Pressure**<br>examples: | A participant can use various methods of indirect coercion to influence and change the behavior of the other participant. Some types of pressure and examples include: |
| hold a boycott | A participant can refuse to buy products or services from the other participant. For example, consumers may refuse to purchase a corporation's products because consumers believe the corporation exploits citizens of a Third World nation. |
| protest | A participant can engage in a protest in order to make a point. Protesters can lawfully demonstrate or can practice civil disobedience. For example, a group of people protesting a country's sale of weapons to another nation may demonstrate (using nonviolent civil disobedience) in front of government buildings. The demonstrators hope to disrupt the government's daily proceedings and convince the government that it should change its weapons policy. |
| strike | Workers withhold their labor power from a corporation. Workers may strike for better working conditions, higher wages, or job security. |
| threaten | A participant may threaten to use force or some other method. A participant may be bluffing or may actually intend to follow through on the threat. For example, a nation may threaten to use atomic weapons if another nation does not remove all military ships from international waters. |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Other** | |

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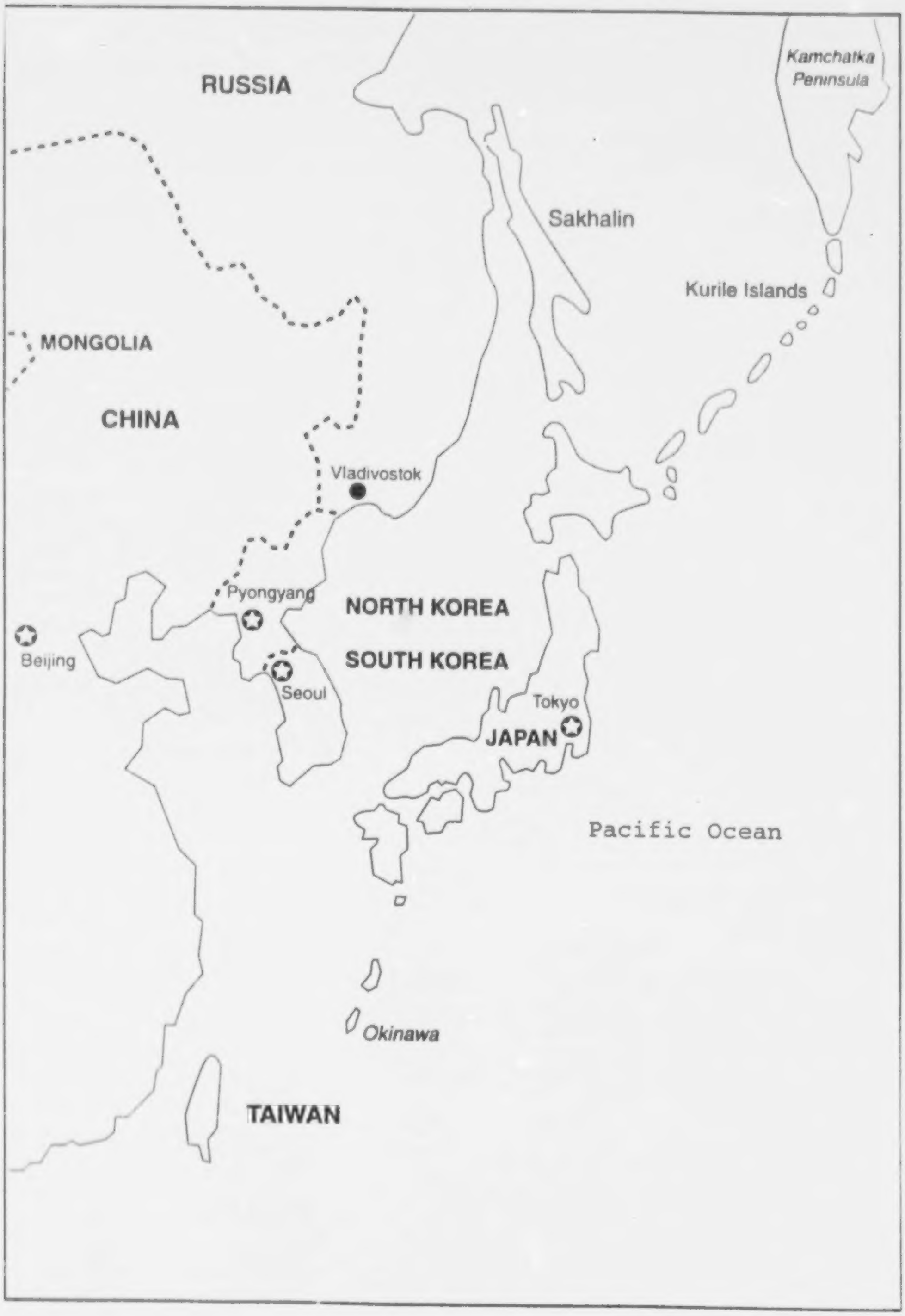
# LOCATION OF OKINAWA IN NORTHEAST ASIA


RUSSIA
Kamchatka Peninsula
Sakhalin
Kurile Islands
MONGOLIA
CHINA
Vladivostok
Pyongyang
NORTH KOREA
Beijing
SOUTH KOREA
Seoul
Tokyo
JAPAN
Pacific Ocean
Okinawa
TAIWAN

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# ROLE PLAY INFORMATION SHEET

Your teacher will be giving you copies of the following:

- Okinawan Citizens' Statement: A Message to Our American Friends from Concerned Japanese Citizens
- Government Statement: Japan–U.S. Joint Declaration on Security Alliance for the 21st Century
- Japanese Government Statement: Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto
- Okinawan Government Letter: Governor Masahide Ota
- U.S. Government Statement: Former U.S. Secretary of Defense William Perry
- U.S. Military Perspective: U.S. Military Officer Stationed in Okinawa
- Statistician: U.S. Bases in Okinawa and Mainland Japan, Statistics
- Historian: U.S. Bases in Okinawa, a Timeline

Using this information, your group has the task of creating a five-minute role play that utilizes at least three of the perspectives on the U.S. military bases in Okinawa. The objective of the role plays is to illustrate the various perspectives one has to consider when thinking about conflict management or conflict resolution strategies for dealing with the conflict surrounding U.S. military bases in Okinawa. As a group, do the following:

1. Review the perspectives presented in the statements. Determine which of the perspectives (at least three) you would like to incorporate in your role play.

2. Identify a situation, the problem, or the fundamental issue you would like to address in the role play. Determine a setting. For example: Okinawan Town Hall Meeting with Governor Ota, Secret Diplomatic Meeting with U.S. and Japanese Government Officials in Washington, D.C., a Golf Course, a University Classroom, a Family at a Dinner Table.

3. Determine the actors in the role play and assign roles.

4. Determine whether the actors will have lines to memorize or will make up their own lines during the course of the role-play.

5. If props, equipment, or costumes are used, keep them simple.

6. Rehearse.

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# A MESSAGE TO OUR AMERICAN FRIENDS FROM CONCERNED JAPANESE CITIZENS

The following is reprinted with permission from an advertisement placed in the *New York Times* on May 30, 1997, by the Japan Coalition on the U.S. Military Bases.

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## Fifty Years of Occupation Opposed by the Okinawans

Okinawa, where most of the U.S. bases in Japan are concentrated, is a beautiful island surrounded by coral and tropical sea. Following World War II, however, huge tracts of land were confiscated from local people by U.S. occupation forces using "guns and bulldozers.". Today, some 20 percent of the main island of Okinawa is occupied by U.S. bases, some of it as a result of forced leases which are opposed by the owners of the land.

On May 14, [1997,] the forced leases on tracts of land of some 3,000 owners expired, and yet the Japanese government had revised the law to continue the leases despite the expiration. An opinion poll conducted by *Okinawa Times* and *Asahi Shinbun* [Asahi Newspaper] in April revealed that 61 percent of Okinawans are opposed to the revision. The poll also found that 80 percent of Okinawans supported the efforts of their governor to negotiate for the withdrawal of U.S. Marines from Okinawa. We, citizens from across Japan, are supporting their position, and we would like to see the Marines totally withdrawn from Japan.

## Sexual Assaults against Women and Children

For more than fifty years now, women and children have lived under the threat of violence. The rape of an Okinawan schoolgirl in September 1995 by three U.S. Marines brought renewed strength to the anti-base movement. Unfortunately, however, this was by no means the first such incident in the 50 years of occupation.

The most savage was the rape-murder, on September 3, 1955, of a six-year old girl named Yumiko, whose body was thrown into the sea by the U.S. officer who raped and killed her. In September 1949, a nine-month-old baby girl was sexually assaulted by an American soldier. Over the past 25 years, police records indicate that 4,700 crimes have been committed by American soldiers, 110 of them sexual assaults. Of these crimes, 90 percent have been committed by Marines. These figures may also be grossly understated, as one psychiatrist who has worked with rape victims reports that it is typical for only one out of 20 or 30 victims to file a report.

Okinawa is the only site outside of the United States with such large numbers of Marines. Many of them are in their teens and twenties, and are living abroad for the first time. There are many difficulties involved in this transition, and they are manifested in the high crime statistics.

## Give Us Back Our Quiet Life

Okinawa is literally littered with bases, which in many cases are separated from the homes of ordinary citizens by mere fences. At one base, the nearby city council took measurements and found that sounds from planes exceed 70 decibels an average of 161 times every day. This has had a detrimental effect on the education in Okinawan schools. The prefectural Health and Environment Department of Okinawa has determined that students in these schools have high incidence of hearing disabilities, loud voices, hyperactivity, sleep disorders, and colds.

## Environmental Destruction

The live firing exercises by the U.S. Marine Corps in Okinawa are defoliating hills, leading to a runoff of reddish soil which muddies the rivers and the surrounding sea. Coral reefs are dying off because of this pollution. It was recently revealed that U.S. forces used depleted uranium bullets—the same kind which are suspected as a cause of Gulf War Syndrome and high incidence of cancer among children in Iraq—on Tori Island in Okinawa Prefecture, and waited a full year before admitting this incident to the Japanese government.

## But Aren't the Bases Necessary?

We have been told again and again by U.S. and Japanese officials that the Marines are stationed in Japan to defend us, or to maintain stability in East Asia. Military officials and politicians like to remind us that the Marines are necessary because of instability on the Korean Peninsula. However, we believe there are better ways to deal with the tension than to station tens of thousands of Marines on our shores. We believe that reconciliation, trust, and mutual aid with our neighbors are what are really necessary for our safety. What we need today is "human security," which seeks to provide a stable and fulfilling life for all, rather than "military security," which seeks to dominate by force of arms.

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# JAPAN–U.S. JOINT DECLARATION ON SECURITY ALLIANCE FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

The following are excerpts of a Japan–U.S. joint declaration on security alliance issued April 17, 1996, after a summit meeting in Tokyo between Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto and President Bill Clinton.

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Today, the Prime Minister and the President celebrated one of the most successful bilateral relationships in history. The leaders took pride in the profound and positive contribution this relationship has made to world peace and regional stability and prosperity. The strong Alliance between Japan and the United States helped ensure peace and security in the Asia–Pacific region during the Cold War. Our Alliance continues to underlie the dynamic economic growth in this region. The two leaders agreed that the future security and prosperity of both Japan and the United States are tied inextricably to the future of the Asia–Pacific region.

The benefits of peace and prosperity that spring from the Alliance are due not only to the commitments of the two governments, but also to the contributions of the Japanese and American people who have shared the burden of securing freedom and democracy. The Prime Minister and the President expressed their profound gratitude to those who sustain the Alliance, especially those Japanese communities that host U.S. Forces, and those Americans who, far from home, devote themselves to the defense of peace and freedom.

For more than a year, the two governments conducted an intensive review of the evolving political and security environment of the Asia–Pacific region and of various aspects of the Japan–U.S. security relationship. On the basis of this review, the Prime Minister and the President reaffirmed their commitment to the profound common values that guide our national policies: the maintenance of freedom, the pursuit of democracy, and respect for human rights. They agreed that the foundations for our cooperation remain firm, and that this partnership will remain vital in the twenty-first century.

**The Regional Outlook**
Since the end of the Cold War, the possibility of global armed conflict has receded. The last few years have seen expanded political and security dialogue among countries of the region. Respect for democratic principles is growing. Prosperity is more widespread than at any other time in history, and we are witnessing the emergence of an Asia–Pacific community. The Asia–Pacific region has become the most dynamic area of the globe.

At the same time, instability and uncertainty persist in the region. Tensions continue on the Korean Peninsula. There are still heavy concentrations of military forces, including nuclear arsenals. Unresolved territorial disputes, potential regional conflicts, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery all constitute sources of instability.

**The Japan–U.S. Alliance and the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security**
The Prime Minister and the President underscored the importance of promoting stability in this region and dealing with the security challenges facing both countries.

In this regard, the Prime Minister and the President reiterated the significant value of the Alliance between Japan and the United States. They reaffirmed that the Japan–U.S.

security relationship, based on the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between Japan and the United States of America, remains the cornerstone for achieving common security objectives and for maintaining a stable and prosperous environment for the Asia-Pacific region as we enter the 21st century.

The Prime Minister confirmed Japan's fundamental defense policy as articulated in its new "National Defense Program Outline" adopted in November 1995, which underscored that the Japanese defense capabilities should play appropriate roles in the security environment after the Cold War. The Prime Minister and the President agreed that the most effective framework for the defense of Japan is close defense cooperation between the two countries. This cooperation is based on a combination of appropriate defense capabilities for the Self-Defense Forces of Japan and the Japan–U.S. security arrangements. The leaders again confirmed that U.S. deterrence under the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security remains the guarantee for Japan's security.

The Prime Minister and the President agreed that continued U.S. military presence is also essential for preserving peace and stability in the Asia–Pacific region. The leaders shared the common recognition that the Japan–U.S. security relationship forms an essential pillar which supports the positive regional engagement of the U.S.

The President emphasized the U.S. commitment to the defense of Japan as well as to peace and stability in the Asia–Pacific region. He noted that there has been some adjustment of U.S. forces in the Asia–Pacific region since the end of the Cold War. On the basis of a thorough assessment, the United States reaffirmed that meeting its commitments in the prevailing security environment requires the maintenance of its current force structure of about 100,000 forward-deployed [stationed in foreign countries] military personnel in the region, including about the current level in Japan.

The Prime Minister welcomed the U.S. determination to remain a stable and steadfast presence in the region. He reconfirmed that Japan would continue appropriate contributions for the maintenance of U.S. forces in Japan, such as through the provision of facilities and areas in accordance with the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security and Host Nation Support. The President expressed U.S. appreciation for Japan's contributions and welcomed the conclusion of the new Special Measures Agreement, which provides financial support for U.S. forces in Japan.

### Bilateral Cooperation under the Japan–U.S. Security Relationship

The Prime Minister and the President recognized that the broad support and understanding of the Japanese people are indispensable for the smooth stationing of U.S. forces in Japan, which is the core element of the Japan–U.S. security arrangements. The two leaders agreed that both governments will make every effort to deal with various issues related to the presence and status of U.S. forces. They also agreed to make further efforts to enhance mutual understanding between U.S. forces and local Japanese communities.

In particular, with respect to Okinawa, where U.S. facilities and areas are highly concentrated, the Prime Minister and the President reconfirmed their determination to carry out steps to consolidate, realign, and reduce U.S. facilities and areas consistent with the objectives of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security.

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# PRIME MINISTER RYUTARO HASHIMOTO

The following is an excerpt from Prime Minister Hashimoto's speech, broadcast live by Japanese NHK TV on November 21, 1997. His speech emphasized the Japanese government's efforts to reduce and consolidate U.S. military facilities in Okinawa.

I am very much pleased that here in Okinawa, with the participation of many honored guests from inside and outside Japan and with the cooperation of Okinawa Governor Masahide Ota and Okinawan residents, the government can hold this ceremony today to mark the 25th anniversary of Okinawa's reversion to Japan. Today, 21st November, commemorates the day when then Prime Minister Eisaku Sato and then U.S. President Richard Nixon issued a joint statement in 1969 announcing an agreement on the reversion of Okinawa.

Behind the realization of that historical event, which was eagerly sought by Okinawan residents and people in other parts of Japan, were firm Japanese–U.S. relations of trust and unchanged zeal for peace and stability on the part of the Japanese and U.S. officials concerned. Here, I would like to express heartfelt gratitude again to those who made efforts towards the reversion.

We should not forget that efforts made and energy expended continuously, despite many hardships, by Okinawan residents to create Okinawa as a peaceful place blessed with beautiful nature and culture lay at the root of that historical change. Those efforts gave the people the power to rise from the ruins of the Battle of Okinawa, which incinerated all trees and grass, made Okinawa's reversion to Japan possible, and became a major force behind the development of Okinawa.

Okinawa's economy has been steadily growing since the reversion. To help promote Okinawa's economic growth, the government has enacted necessary laws, worked out three Okinawa development programs and carried out various projects. As a result, the prefecture's social infrastructure improved and its economic standard was raised in the past 25 years. However, there are not a few pending problems yet to be solved.

My involvement with Okinawa started when I was young, when I participated in a relief program for the victims of the disaster of the Tsushima evacuation ship. Also, former Prime Minister Eisaku Sato, who asserted that Japan's postwar period would not end until Okinawa reverted to Japan, was my political mentor.

Since I was elected prime minister in January last year, I have taken the lead in solving Okinawa-related problems, considering it a top-priority task that the government should tackle. Now that 25 years have passed since the reversion, the government's serious discussion on the future of Okinawa and efforts to solve Okinawa issues are urged once more. In the next 25 years, the government should work out new visions for the development of Okinawa in the 21st century. The government decided to hold this ceremony as a special event to celebrate Okinawa's new and powerful start.

• • • • •

In discussing the future of Okinawa, we cannot avoid the issue of U.S. military bases, which currently occupy about 20 percent of the land on the main island of Okinawa. The

Japan–USA security system is a very important framework not only to both Japan and the USA but also to peace and stability in the Asia–Pacific region. Therefore, Japan must fulfill its obligations in terms of the Japan–USA Security Treaty. Fundamentally, all Japanese people should share the burden of hosting U.S. bases equally. However, we have failed to recognize well the facts that Okinawa houses 75 percent of U.S. military facilities in Japan, that the prefecture has long been forced to bear that excessive burden, and that such a situation has affected Okinawa seriously. All Japanese people should feel regret about their failure to recognize these facts.

The government intends to make continuous efforts for the consolidation and reduction of U.S. military facilities in Okinawa.

An agreement on the return to Japan of 21 percent of U.S. military facilities and areas in Okinawa, including Marine Corps Air Station Futenma, which was concluded in December of last year and included in a final report issued by the Japan–USA Special Action Committee on Okinawa, was the result of utmost efforts made by Japan and the USA. Carrying out this agreement promptly and faithfully is the surest way to lighten Okinawa's burden. In cooperation with parties concerned, the government plans to promote work to fulfill the agreement with all its might.

In these efforts (to lighten Okinawa's burden), the top-priority issue is the return of the U.S. Marine Corps Air Station (MCAS) Futenma and the construction of the alternative facility. At my first meeting with Governor Ota, I was informed about his strong concern over the dangers posed by MCAS Futenma, which is an urban area. Believing that this situation should be resolved as soon as possible, I proposed the return of the air station when I held summit talks with U.S. President Bill Clinton immediately after meeting with Governor Ota. Then an agreement on the return was reached in April 1996. Taking into consideration such factors as safety, noise and the natural environment, the national government recently presented to local residents a basic plan, as the best option at this time, to construct an offshore heliport, which will be considerably smaller in scale than MCAS Futenma and can be removed when it is no longer needed.

In view of the hope to realize the return of MCAS Futenma as soon as possible and the necessity to Japanese–U.S. security arrangements, we have presented the offshore heliport plan as a realistic option. I earnestly ask the Okinawan people, especially local residents living in the heliport construction site, to understand the purpose of this plan.

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# okinawan government letter

## GOVERNOR MASAHIDE OTA

September 27, 1995

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

re: An urgent request concerning U.S. military bases on Okinawa

Dear Sir:

Okinawa Prefecture is a small island that comprises only 0.6% of the whole Japanese territory. However, even though fifty years have passed since the end of the Pacific War and Battle of Okinawa, 75 percent of all military installations in exclusive use of the United States Forces in Japan are still concentrated in our prefecture. And there is no end to the various crimes and accidents that emanate from these huge military bases.

Under these circumstances, it is no wonder that a grievous crime has occurred recently. On the evening of September 4, 1995 in the north of Okinawa Island, a child on her way back from shopping was abducted and raped by three American servicemen assigned to the U.S. Marine Corps stationed in Okinawa.

We absolutely cannot condone this inhuman and brutal act, which has greatly shocked and caused renewed anxiety in local residents who are forced to live in close proximity to U.S. military bases. The outrage and distress we feel when we think of the pain inflicted on the victim and her family are immeasurable.

Since Okinawa's reversion to Japan in 1972, 120 military aircraft accidents have occurred and 4,716 crimes have been committed by military personnel, including 12 murders of local residents. These figures point out the U.S. military's negligence in the supervision of these matters.

As for the U.S. military's enforcement of official discipline, we have lodged a protest at the occurrence of each crime to the U.S. military and other concerned agencies. The U.S. military has made repeated promises to make improvements. However, in spite of these promises, another incident which violates the dignity of the individual has occurred. We are deeply affronted, and we protest vehemently to the U.S. government.

Furthermore, the prefectural assembly and all of the 53 municipal assemblies in Okinawa have either adopted or are planning to adopt a resolution to protest the incident. Protest rallies by various organizations are being held in succession. The anger of the people of Okinawa is at its peak. In particular, at rallies held by women's groups, the annulment of the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty and the removal of all military bases on Okinawa have been cited as the only means of eradicating these problems. I have visited your country four times to petition the administration, the Congress, and U.S. military officials to reduce and realign military bases on Okinawa and to adopt preventive measures for crimes and accidents arising from the bases. It is truly regrettable that such a tragic incident has occurred in spite of these efforts.

Hence, we strongly ask that your country educate and enforce official discipline of U.S. military personnel to prevent such an incident from occurring ever again.

Furthermore, we ask for a complete revision of the current U.S.–Japan Status of Forces Agreement* (SOFA) so that Japan and the U.S. will stand as equal sovereign nations. We also ask that the SOFA be revised so as not to be detrimental to the interests of the Okinawan people.

We also entreat that you take positive steps to meet the requests we have made in previous trips to the U.S. concerning U.S. military base related problems on Okinawa.

Sincerely,

Masahide Ota
Governor
Okinawa Prefecture

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* The 1960 agreement outlining the rights and responsibilities of the United States and Japan in supporting the U.S. military bases and troops in Japan and implementing the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty.

# FORMER U.S. SECRETARY OF DEFENSE WILLIAM PERRY

The following are excerpts from a transcript of Secretary of Defense William Perry's On-the-Record Roundtable with Japanese Editorial Writers.

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American Embassy, Tokyo, Japan
December 2, 1996

Let me talk a little bit about why U.S. military forces are in the Asia–Pacific region, or in Japan. The Asia–Pacific region has the largest and most dynamic economy anywhere in the world, and an absolute key to the growth of that economy has been the security alliance which the United States has with nations in this region—most importantly, the U.S.–Japan Security Alliance. This has been the fuel for this remarkable economic growth, which has benefited not just Japan, not just the United States, but all the nations in the region. That security alliance and the stability that comes with it depends on the forward presence [stationing in foreign countries] of American troops. That is why the President and the Prime Minister in April in their security declaration not only reaffirmed the U.S.–Japan Security Alliance, but reaffirmed the importance of maintaining about 100,000 U.S. troops in the western Pacific, including maintaining approximately the number of troops we now have in Japan.

One of the factors which has caused this, brought into question the security alliance—and in particular brought into question the presence of American troops—was the tragic rape in Okinawa over a year ago. Our response was immediate and direct. Besides immediate apologies for that tragic action, we began work with the Japanese Government on an urgent basis to put together a dramatic new program that would on the one hand reduce the burden on the people of Okinawa from the U.S. troop presence there, but on the other hand maintain the operational readiness required to carry out the military mission to maintain the strength of the security alliance. Today, as you know, we signed an agreement which basically concluded the work of SACO—the Special Action Committee on Okinawa—and this was a substantial and very significant improvement for the Okinawan people. It involved turning over more than 20 percent of the land in Okinawa which had been occupied by U.S. troops. It involved moving entire bases, greatly reducing the noise, greatly reducing the military activity which had proven burdensome—but at the same time, never taking our eye off the importance of maintaining the strength of the security alliance.

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When I went to Okinawa, which I said was 50 years ago this month, I was deeply moved by the scenes of devastation on that island. There was hardly a building left standing in the southern half of the island. People were still living in caves; there was not enough food. I was there as part of an engineering battalion and we were part of a team which was helping to begin the rebuilding of the island and I developed a real attachment for Okinawa and for Okinawan people while I was there.

Therefore, I've had a special personal interest in this project between the U.S. Defense Department and the Japanese Defense Agency to take the actions we could take to reduce the burden of the American troop presence in Okinawa and to improve the quality of life of the Okinawan people. I believe that what we have done has been very significant in that regard. As I said, I had a personal attachment to doing that. But quite aside from the personal reasons, there were very strong objective reasons for doing it as well. And it was important that as we made these changes, we maintained the operational readiness because the benefit of the security and stability that these troops bring to Okinawans—to the rest of the Japanese, Koreans, Chinese, all of the nations of the region—is tremendous. And all you have to do is to look at the parts of the world in which conflict is going on.

Let me just sit back for a moment and say what the benefits are in broad terms. We think of troops as here to fight a war, and indeed if there ever were to be a war in this region, these 100,000 troops in the western Pacific would be the advance guard. They would be the holding force. But that's not the principal way to think about it. The principal way to think about it is because they are capable of being a holding force ...because of that, they deter a war. So primarily they are here to deter a war. They have performed that function very, very effectively for many decades now. And that is why the economy has been able to benefit. But there's another benefit as well. Because of the presence of those troops, the nations in the region are not involved in an arms race, and so there's an indirect—very important indirect—benefit in that nations are able to concentrate their resources and their energies to building their economies, to being successful, to building goods for civilians. There's a final point about the presence of these troops—they are available and have been used to help in emergencies, humanitarian disasters, peacekeeping operations. So all of these—when we think of the presence of the 100,000 American forces in the western Pacific—we should think of all of these benefits. And they are very great.

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# U.S. MILITARY OFFICER STATIONED IN OKINAWA

October 1996
Okinawa, Japan

Lately our military bases on Okinawa have been a source of major controversy. I am worried about the increase in proposals to remove U.S. forces from Okinawa, or from Japan altogether. I think that people are becoming too emotional and are forgetting why the United States put military bases in Okinawa in the first place. My troops don't want to be in a foreign country, surrounded by a culture they are unfamiliar with and far away from their hometowns. They are here because they believe that ensuring peace in East Asia and prosperity for its citizens is a worthwhile goal that the United States alone can guarantee.

Many people these days seem to have short memories and have forgotten the chaotic history of Northeast Asia. In the first fifty years of this century, we have seen the Russo-Japanese War, two instances of bloody civil war in China, war between the two Koreas, and the widespread military struggle of World War II triggered by Japanese invasion of several countries. By contrast, there have been no sustained military encounters in Northeast Asia since the United States established military bases in Japan in the early 1950s. Is there a connection? Most certainly so.

In a region with three large, powerful countries—the Soviet Union (now Russia), Japan, and China—and a history of governments willing to practice military aggression, tension is inevitable. Conflict has only been avoided due to the presence of the United States. The United States is the only country that is willing and able to keep peace in the region. With the world's most technologically-advanced and effective military, our presence has deterred combative nations from starting military conflicts and bringing death and strife to the citizens of the region.

The U.S.–Japan Security Alliance has endured and should continue to endure because it is beneficial to Okinawa, Japan, the United States, and all of East Asia. The United States can use its military outposts in Japan to respond quickly to any East Asian crises which threaten U.S. interests. Japan's Constitution says that the country can have no military forces which operate outside of Japan, so Japan must depend on the United States to keep peace in the region and prevent war or political chaos from destroying the extensive Japanese investments in other Asian countries. The people of Okinawa are especially in danger due to their proximity to China, a country which has historically tried to control surrounding areas. As China's power in the world grows, it has tried to take over several islands near its coast, such as Taiwan and islands in the South China Sea. This is why it is important that our military bases stay on Okinawa: Okinawa is much closer than the other Japanese islands to the trouble spots of Taiwan and the South China Sea. Okinawa is also closer to the sea lanes which allow passage of petroleum and many other crucial economic goods to Japan, the United States, and all East Asian countries. Okinawa's location makes it the best place in East Asia to position troops.

Of course, when so many military operations and personnel are concentrated in one area, there are bound to be some problems. The military exercises and training drills we carry out do cause some noise, and there are occasional accidents. However, such exercises are necessary so that greater tragedies do not occur. It is much better to have to occasionally endure some noise pollution than to see your city destroyed because the airplanes which were supposed to defend you from enemy attack did not work correctly and had not been tested adequately.

Finally, I make no excuses for the troops who raped the young Okinawan girl in 1995. Such behavior is completely unacceptable. The U.S. military is working harder than ever to prevent such incidents, and we hope that the outrage caused by the 1995 rape showed all of our troops how serious and evil such crimes truly are. However, U.S. bases on Okinawa are necessary for the continued peace and prosperity of the people in Okinawa, in Japan, and in the entire region. We are here not by choice; we are here because we believe that the U.S. presence in Okinawa is the only way to ensure the continued political stability and economic prosperity of Japan, the United States, and East Asia.

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# U.S. BASES IN OKINAWA AND MAINLAND JAPAN, STATISTICS

The following statistics were obtained from the U.S. Forces Media Liaison Office in Tokyo and Japan's Defense Facilities Agency (1995).

## Military Bases in Japan

Out of 135 military facilities totaling 980,662 square kilometers (378,536 square miles) used by U.S. forces in Japan, 94 totaling 315,583 square kilometers (121,815 square miles) are controlled solely by the U.S. military. Others are jointly used by the U.S. and Japanese military.

Of these 94 military facilities, 40 are on Okinawa, taking up as much as 75 percent of the land used by the U.S. military in all of Japan.

Of the 40 facilities on Okinawa, Japan has been asking the United States under a 1990 bilateral agreement to either revert or scale down 17 of them, such as the U.S. Navy's port dock area in Okinawa's provincial capital of Naha. Talks are still in progress. The 40 facilities on Okinawa take up 20 percent of the land on the island, which has a population of 1.3 million.

The following is a breakdown of the 94 U.S. military facilities in Japan by prefecture:

| Prefecture | Facilities | square kilometers | square miles |
|---|---|---|---|
| Okinawa | 40 | 236,602 | 91,328 |
| Kanagawa | 16 | 18,748 | 7,237 |
| Hokkaido | 2 | 4,282 | 1,653 |
| Aomori | 3 | 23,637 | 9,124 |
| Nagasaki | 11 | 4,442 | 1,715 |
| Tokyo | 7 | 12,983 | 5,011 |
| Chiba | 1 | 2,104 | 812 |
| Saitama | 3 | 2,271 | 877 |
| Shizuoka | 2 | 1,205 | 465 |
| Hiroshima | 5 | 3,537 | 1,365 |
| Yamaguchi | 2 | 5,733 | 2,213 |
| Fukuoka | 1 | 22 | 8 |
| Saga | 1 | 14 | 5 |
| Totals | 94 | 315,583 (figures do not total exactly due to rounding) | 121,815 (figures do not total exactly due to rounding) |

## Major Bases in Japan

Army headquarters: U.S. Army Camp Zama (Kanagawa)

Air bases: Air Force Base Yokota (Kanagawa), Air Force Base Misawa (Aomori), Kadena Air Force Base (Okinawa)

Naval bases: U.S. Naval Base Yokosuka (Kanagawa), Sasebo Naval Base (Nagasaki)

Marine bases: Marine Corps Station Iwakuni (Yamaguchi), Marine Corps Base Camp Butler (Okinawa)

## U.S. Military Personnel in Japan

Okinawa: 27,676 (Army 910, Navy 1,441, Air Force 7,244, and Marine Corps 18,081)

Mainland Japan: 16,209 (Army 1,017, Navy 4,420, Air Force 7,730, and Marine Corps 3,042)

In addition, there are 13,041 U.S. Navy personnel deployed on the 7th Fleet vessels, including the carrier USS Independence, homeported in Yokosuka (south of Tokyo). These are not considered among those stationed in Japan.

U.S. civilians employed by U.S. forces in Japan: Okinawa 2,150, mainland Japan 2,915

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# U.S. BASES IN OKINAWA, A TIMELINE

The following timeline was modified from the September 16-22, 1996 version from the *Japan Times Weekly International Edition.*

| | |
|---|---|
| June 1945 | Imperial Japanese Army ground forces in Okinawa are annihilated by invading U.S. forces. More than 200,000 soldiers and civilians are killed during the Battle of Okinawa. The United States begins its 27-year occupation of Okinawa. |
| 1953 | The U.S. civil administration issues land expropriation orders, the legal basis for forcing Okinawan residents to lease land for use by the U.S. military. These forced leases continue even after Okinawa is returned to Japan in 1972. |
| 1956 | Anti-(U.S. military) base rallies are staged in Okinawa. |
| 1959 | A U.S. plane crashes into an elementary school in Ishikawa on the east coast of Okinawa's main island, killing 17 and injuring many others. |
| 1972 | The United States returns Okinawa to Japan according to the terms of a 1969 U.S.–Japanese agreement. |
| September 4, 1995 | A 12-year-old Okinawan schoolgirl is raped by three U.S. servicemen. |
| October 21, 1995 | An estimated 85,000 people attend an anti-base rally in Okinawa, the largest anti-U.S. military protest ever held on the island. |
| November 1995 | Japan and the United States organize a Special Action Committee on Okinawa to consider the issue of reducing and consolidating the local U.S. military bases. |
| December 7, 1995 | The Japanese government files a lawsuit to compel Okinawan Governor Masahide Ota to sign lease agreements forcing Okinawans to let the U.S. military continue to use their land. |
| March 25, 1996 | A high court orders Ota to cooperate in extending forced land leases. |
| April 15, 1996 | Japan and the United States agree on the conditional return of 11 military facilities to Okinawa, including Futenma Air Station. |
| August 29, 1996 | Tokyo and Washington decide to rotate U.S. live-fire exercises now conducted in Okinawa among five Japanese military bases in mainland Japan. |
| September 8, 1996 | 89.1 percent of Okinawan voters approve a referendum supporting the reduction and realignment of the U.S. bases on Okinawa and a revision of the Status of Forces Agreement. However, only around 20 percent of Okinawans support the complete removal of U.S. forces. |
| December 2, 1996 | The United States and Japan sign an agreement ending the work of the Special Action Committee on Okinawa. The agreement turns over more than 20 percent of the land in Okinawa which had been occupied by U.S. troops. It also significantly reduces burdensome noise generated by U.S. military activity and moves entire U.S. bases. |
| September 23, 1997 | Japanese and U.S. officials approve new guidelines for U.S.–Japan Defense Cooperation. These replace the 1978 guidelines that focused largely on the Cold War era threat, and clarify defense cooperation between Japan and the United States in the new era. |

# U.S. Bases in Okinawa, Options

**Option #1**

**No Changes**

Maintain the status quo.

**Option #2**

**Compensation**

Pay Okinawan citizens a fixed sum to make up for the hardships associated with hosting U.S. bases and troops.

**Option #3**

**Reduction**

Reduce number of U.S. troops and bases in Okinawa, return some land to citizens, and decrease the U.S. military presence in Okinawa.

**Option #4**

**Relocation**

Use land on the other Japanese islands for military bases and move the U.S. forces from Okinawa to the other islands of Japan.

**Option #5**

**Terminate the treaty**

Pull all U.S. forces from Japan, return all U.S. bases to the Japanese government, and end the U.S. guarantee to protect Japan.

**Option #6**

**Other (please describe)**

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*Lesson 3*

# THE 1996 TAIWAN STRAIT CRISIS: BACKGROUND AND PERSPECTIVES

## Organizing Questions

- How do different perceptions of history influence conflict?
- What are the interests of the governments and people of Taiwan, the China mainland, Japan, and the United States in the Taiwan Strait and how have these interests evolved over time?
- What are the barriers to conflict resolution between Taiwan and the China mainland?

## Introduction

In 1885, Taiwan became a province of China. After the Sino–Japanese war of 1894, Taiwan was ceded to Japan. Following Japan's defeat in World War II in 1945, Japan turned Taiwan over to Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalist party. In February 1947, a revolt against the Nationalist party broke out but was suppressed. After the Nationalist party's defeat in the Chinese civil war in 1949, more than one million of Chiang Kai-shek's followers took refuge on Taiwan and the Nationalists set up their government there. The beginning of the Korean War in 1950 brought about changes in U.S. policy towards Taiwan, which included military support for Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist party.

Today, the governments of the China mainland and Taiwan coexist in an uneasy tension that can erupt into war. The animosity is a legacy of the Chinese civil war in which the Communists, now the rulers of the People's Republic of China, which they established in 1949, defeated their Nationalist rivals, who retreated to the island of Taiwan where they have ruled ever since as the Republic of China.

An recent example of this uneasy tension is the 1996 Taiwan Strait conflict. In part 1 of this lesson, students examine a brief history of cross-Strait relations and attitudes, written from either a Taiwanese or mainland Chinese perspective from 1949–1978, 1979–1987, or 1988–1995. In part 2, students, in small groups, examine Japanese, Chinese mainland, U.S., and Taiwanese editorials and political cartoons on the 1996 Taiwan Strait crisis.

## Objectives

*knowledge*

- to learn about the history of the China mainland–Taiwan conflict
- to learn how the governments of the China mainland and Taiwan interpret historical events

*attitude*

- to understand that specific historical events often have several interpretations

- to recognize that different interpretations of the past can create barriers to conflict management and conflict resolution

*skill*

- to read editorials critically
- to interpret political cartoons
- to recognize the subjective nature of historical accounts
- to apply conflict analysis skills to a specific case, i.e., the 1996 Taiwan Strait crisis

Materials

- Transparency: Map of Asia (from lesson 1)
- Transparency: Map of Taiwan
- Handout #1: History of Relations Between the People's Republic of China and Taiwan Province, 1949–1978: Hypothetical View from Beijing, December 31, 1978, one copy
- Handout #2: History of Relations Between the China Mainland and Taiwan, 1949–1978: Hypothetical View from Taipei, December 31, 1978, one copy
- Handout #3: History of Relations Between the People's Republic of China and Taiwan Province, 1979–1987: Hypothetical View from Beijing, December 31, 1987, one copy
- Handout #4: History of Relations Between the China Mainland and Taiwan, 1979–1987: Hypothetical View from Taipei, December 31, 1987, one copy
- Handout #5: History of Relations Between the People's Republic of China and Taiwan Province, 1988–1995: Hypothetical View from Beijing, December 31, 1995, one copy
- Handout #6: History of Relations Between the China Mainland and Taiwan, 1988–1995: Hypothetical View from Taipei, December 31, 1995, one copy
- For the Teacher: History of the Taiwan Strait Conflict
- Handout #7: 1996 Taiwan Strait Crisis, one per student
- Handout #8: Instructions: Groups with Editorials, four copies
- Handout #9: Instructions: Groups with Political Cartoons, four copies
- Editorial #1: Japan, one copy
- Political Cartoon #1: Japan, one copy
- Editorial #2: China, one copy
- Political Cartoon #2: China, one copy
- Editorial #3: United States, one copy
- Political Cartoon #3: United States, one copy
- Editorial #4: Taiwan, one copy

- Political Cartoon #4: Taiwan, one copy
- For the Teacher: Interpretations of Political Cartoons

One of the most difficult aspects of addressing the issue of Taiwan is choosing the appropriate terms to use. In the interest of standardization, we will call the area of China which is currently controlled by the Chinese Communist Party the "China mainland." The island of Taiwan will be referred to simply as "Taiwan."

In the six histories provided in this lesson on relations between the China mainland and Taiwan, different terms may be used (such as "The People's Republic of China" or simply "China" to refer to the China mainland, and "the Republic of China on Taiwan" or "Taiwan province" to refer to Taiwan) because these histories reflect the names that the leaders of the China mainland and Taiwan used at the time. They are left unstandardized in the interest of historical accuracy. If this confuses your students, please explain to them that the names people use to refer to the China mainland and Taiwan have varied according to political perspective and time era.

## Procedure—Part 1

1. Point out that in this lesson students will examine how different perceptions of history influence conflict. The 1996 Taiwan Strait crisis will be examined as a case study, and students will study the interests of Taiwan, the China mainland, Japan, and the United States in the Taiwan Strait and discuss how these interests have evolved over time. Barriers to conflict resolution between Taiwan and the China mainland will be examined as well.

   Using the Transparency (from lesson 1), Map of Asia, point out Taiwan's location relative to the China mainland. Using the Transparency (from this lesson), Map of Taiwan, point out the locations of islands claimed by Taiwan and the location of the Taiwan Strait. Note that the terms "cross-Strait relations" is commonly used to refer to the relations between the China mainland and Taiwan.

2. Divide the class into six groups. Each group will read a brief history of cross-Strait relations and attitudes, written from either a Taiwanese or mainland Chinese perspective from 1949–1978, 1979–1987, or 1988–1995. These are hypothetical perspectives intended to provide brief summaries for students. Pass out a copy of one of the Handouts #1–6 to each group.

   Allow students 30–40 minutes to read the handouts and work on the group task listed on each handout. Each group must organize a presentation for the entire class. The goals of these presentations are to teach the whole class about the history of cross-Strait relations and to show the class how both sides view the conflict.

   As noted in the group task, each group will create something which clearly expresses the opinion that they were presented on cross-Strait relations. This may be a political cartoon, an editorial, a poem, or a propaganda poster. Each group's presentation should include at least three important events that happened during the time period they read about, three conditions that would be necessary for conflict to end, and the preferred method of conflict resolution or conflict management (see Handout #1, Conflict Resolution and Conflict Management: Distinction and Methods, from lesson 2) according to the perspective they read.

3. Have each group make its presentation in front of the class. The students should summarize the events which occurred in the period they read about, articulate their perspective, and explain and present their work to the class.
4. After all groups have presented, debrief with the following questions:

- Why did Taiwan and the China mainland see the same events differently?
- In each time period (1949–1978, 1979–1987, 1988–1995), what were the barriers to conflict resolution? Has conflict become more or less violent over time?
- Were the two sides closer to ending the conflict in 1995 than before? What problems still remained?
- Classify each main event as a case of conflict escalation (an increase in the level of conflict), conflict management, or conflict resolution.

## Procedure: Part 2

1. Provide the class with a brief summary of the 1996 Taiwan Strait crisis. You may wish to copy and distribute Handout #7, 1996 Taiwan Strait Crisis, or you may simply give an oral summary of the material on the handout.
2. Divide the class into eight groups. Four groups will receive a political cartoon (one per group) covering the 1996 Taiwan Strait crisis from a mainland Chinese, Taiwanese, U.S., or Japanese newspaper (Political Cartoons #1–4). The other four groups will receive an editorial from the same mainland Chinese, Taiwanese, U.S., or Japanese newspaper (Editorials #1–4). Also, distribute Handout #8, Instructions: Groups with Editorials, to each group given editorials, and Handout #9, Instructions: Groups with Political Cartoons, to each group given political cartoons.

   Each group should focus only on part I of Handout #8 or Handout #9. Students should come up with collective group answers to the questions in part I of the handouts using only the information provided to them in the editorials or political cartoons. Each group should choose a recorder to write down their answers to all the questions.
3. After groups have had time to answer all the questions, groups should join together according to the country of origin of their

materials. For example, the group with an editorial from the *Japan Times* will join the group with the political cartoon from the *Japan Times*. Together, students must share their responses from part I of Handouts #8 and #9.

4. Next, have students answer the questions under part II of Handouts #8 and #9 in the same groups. Remind students that now they are to use their own personal opinions to answer these questions.

   Please note that the purpose of this part of the activity is not to compare the perspective given by the political cartoon with that given by the editorial; since the political cartoons and editorials from the same newspaper don't relate well, this won't work. Instead, the goal here is for students to practice their group decision-making skills, reach consensus, and compromise between any different perspectives that the editorial group and the political cartoon group may have. These questions also take students through the following steps of conflict analysis:

- Who are the participants in the conflict?
- What are the goals of the participants?
- What event created the feeling of conflict?
- What are the participants' possible feelings and reactions to this event?
- What conflict resolution and conflict management methods could each participant use to deal with the conflict?
- What would be the likely consequences of each of these methods, respectively?

The students will go through these steps by answering the questions they have been given; it is not necessary to articulate these steps to them.

5. Have each of the four groups now give five-minute summaries of their "solutions" to the Taiwan Strait conflict in front of the class. Discuss each of the various solutions.
6. After all groups have presented, ask students to vote for which "solution" or conflict management or conflict resolution proposal they believe has the best chance of succeeding.
7. Tell students what happened after the March 23, 1996 election:

   In the March 23 election, Lee gained 54 percent of the vote in an easy victory. Lee claimed that China's missile tests had helped him to victory by giving his campaign international media attention and uniting Taiwanese voters under the prospect of standing up to China by voting for Lee. China claimed that its efforts were successful because pro-reunification candidates collected 79 percent of the votes, while those favoring Taiwan's independence received only 21 percent.

Since the election, China has ended all military exercises near Taiwan, and tensions have cooled considerably. While trends indicate that the late 1990s will see a return to the peaceful and productive cross-Strait negotiations of the early 1990s, nothing is certain.

8. Debrief with the following questions:

- Is there a "middle ground" in this conflict? What is it?
- What conditions would have to exist for this conflict to be resolved?
- How does the way each group perceives this conflict influence the chances of resolving the conflict?

### Assessment Ideas

Part 2

- Have students who received a political cartoon redraw the cartoon according to the perspective of one of the other three countries. In your assessment, you may want to consider craftsmanship, appropriate detail, themes, and symbolic meaning, as well as the students' general understanding of multiple perspectives.
- Have students who received an editorial write a "letter to the editor" in response to the editorial. The format and emphasis are their choice, but they must address arguments made in the original editorial. You may want to consider whether the letters to the editor have a clear focus and an adequate number of key concepts, details, and examples, as well as illustrating the students' general understanding of the 1996 Taiwan Strait crisis.

### Enrichment

Have students examine the topic of subjectivity of historical accounts by finding two or more perspectives on a historical event. Students can write a research paper which lists the views of both sides and then describes the barriers to conflict resolution. Possibilities include U.S. and Japanese perspectives on the dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, PLO and Israeli perspectives on the status of territories in which Palestinians are a majority, Nigerian and British perspectives on British colonial rule in Nigeria, and Turkish and Greek perspectives on the status of Cyprus. Instead of a research paper, students may also draw political cartoons or propaganda posters illustrating each perspective in the conflict.

### Policy Study Reference

U.S.–Japan Consultative Group on Policies Toward the People's Republic of China. *U.S.–Japan Policy Dialogue on China: Political Issues*. New York: The Asia Society, 1992.

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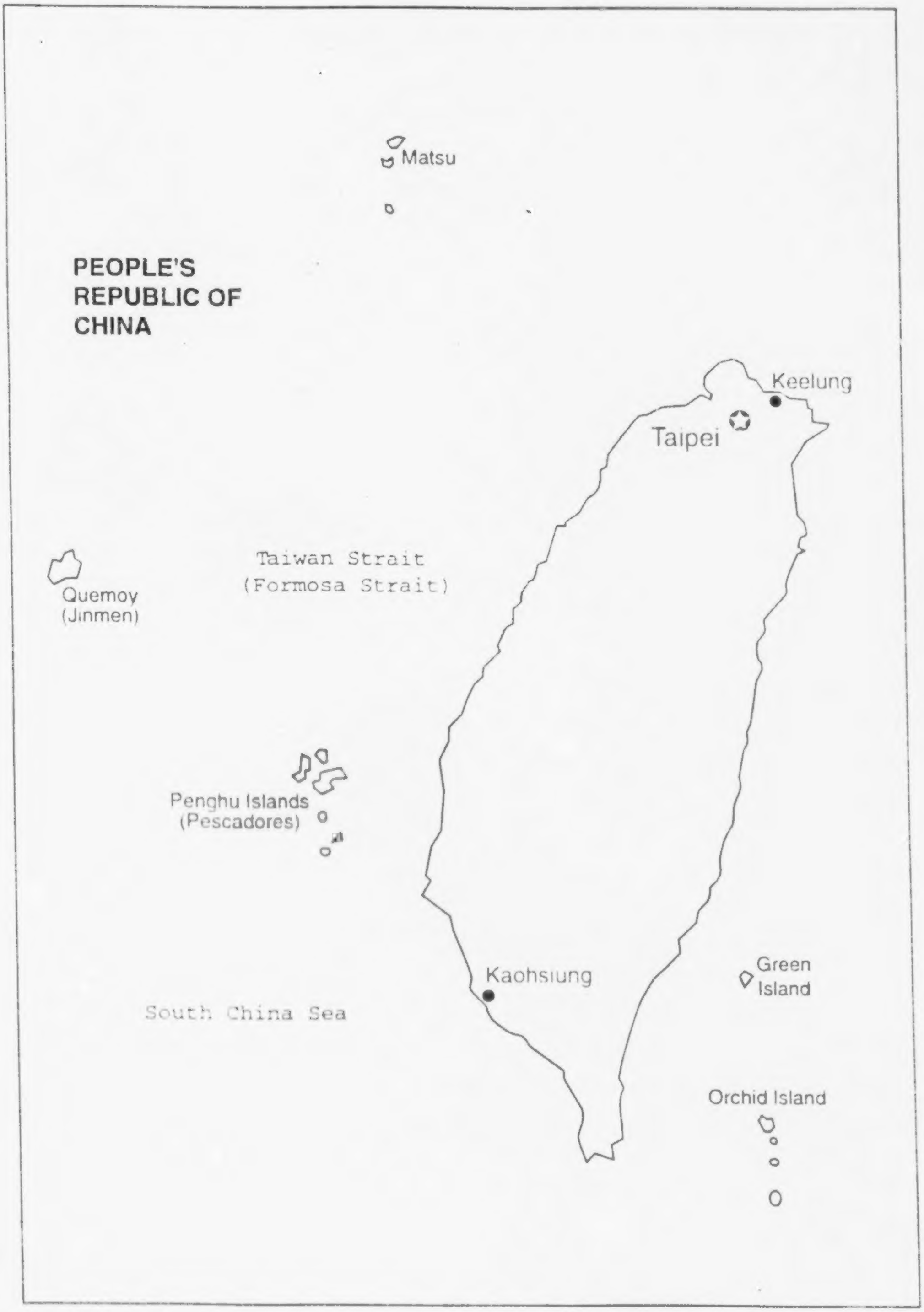
# MAP OF TAIWAN


Matsu
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA
Keelung
Taipei
Taiwan Strait
(Formosa Strait)
Quemoy
(Jinmen)
Penghu Islands
(Pescadores)
Kaohsiung
Green
Island
South China Sea
Orchid Island

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# HISTORY OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND TAIWAN PROVINCE, 1949–1978

Hypothetical View from Beijing, December 31, 1978

The Taiwan problem began in 1947. The Chinese Communist and Nationalist parties had been in a civil war for control of China since 1947. By 1949, our army had advanced so quickly that the Nationalists fled to Taiwan, giving up control of the mainland. Besides Taiwan, the Nationalists controlled some islands near Taiwan, preventing the total reunification of China under Chinese Communist Party rule.

We prepared to invade Taiwan and liberate our compatriots there in 1950. However, when the Korean War began, the United States suddenly brought its Seventh Fleet into the Taiwan area to prevent our invasion. They were worried that all of East Asia would become communist. Needless to say, this illegal, unjustified intervention in Chinese internal affairs infuriated us. Without the U.S. intervention, we could have reunited China easily.

By protecting Taiwan, the United States gave the Nationalists time to rebuild and strengthen themselves. Even worse, the United States began to give Taiwan military and economic aid to strengthen their government. U.S. troops were even stationed on the island, and the United States forced other countries to support its absurd policy of recognizing the Nationalists as the true rulers of China. When the Korean War ended, Taiwan and the United States even dared to negotiate the Mutual Defense Treaty, which said that the United States would defend the province from attack. We responded to all these acts of aggression by bombing the Nationalist-controlled island of Quemoy in 1954.

However, to show that we ultimately hoped for a peaceful solution to the conflict, Chinese Communist Party official Zhou En-lai announced in 1955 that we were willing to talk to the U.S. government and Taiwan authorities about avoiding conflict over Taiwan. He also stated that "the Chinese people are willing, if conditions permit, to seek a peaceful means to liberate Taiwan."[1] Nonetheless, the Nationalists stubbornly rejected our invitation and refused to meet with us.

The United States also refused to listen to us in negotiations, so we began to launch artillery shells onto Quemoy Island in 1958 to "punish the [Nationalists'] reckless provocation and to strike a blow at American arrogance. ..."[2] To demonstrate our determination to reunite China, we continued to shell the island every other day. We have been unable to attempt an invasion, though, due to the immense amounts of military aid the United States has given the Taiwan authorities.

The situation improved greatly in 1971 when nations of the world began to establish diplomatic relations with us. We were finally awarded our rightful spot in the United Nations in 1971, after the United States stopped claiming that the Nationalists were the true representatives of China. In 1972, the United States accepted our offers for reconciliation at last. That year, President Nixon visited China and signed the Shanghai Communiqué, which affirmed that the two countries should cooperate with each other. Without the threat of U.S. opposition, most of the nations in the world shifted their diplomatic recognition from Taiwan to the People's Republic of China. Now, 116 countries have diplomatic relations with us and only 23 countries believe that Taiwan is a country.

On December 15 of this year (1978), President Carter announced that the

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United States will finally end its diplomatic relations with Taiwan and will recognize China starting in 1979. Carter also announced that all U.S. troops will leave Taiwan next year and the U.S.–Republic of China Mutual Defense Treaty will be terminated. Now that the United States has finally agreed to end its interference in our civil war, we expect to liberate Taiwan soon. We look forward to the day when all our compatriots will be reunited under glorious Communist rule.

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[1] Zhan, Jun. *Ending the Chinese Civil War: Power, Commerce, and Conciliation between Beijing and Taipei.* New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, Inc. 1993. p. 23.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

## GROUP TASK

Your task is to create something which expresses the history of the Taiwan Strait conflict as it was presented in the speech you have just read. The format of your creation is your choice: a cartoon, a radio broadcast, a poem, a propaganda poster, an editorial, or a TV news show. You will then present your creation to the class for five minutes.

In your creation and presentation, be sure to:

- Name and describe at least three important events that occurred during the time period you read about.
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- State the preferred solution to the Taiwan Strait conflict from the perspective of the government whose views were expressed in the speech you just read.

# handout #2

## HISTORY OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CHINA MAINLAND AND TAIWAN, 1949–1978

Hypothetical View from Taipei, December 31, 1978

After fighting with the Communists, we were forced to retreat from the mainland in 1949. We agreed to cooperate with the Communists during World War II in order to resist the Japanese, but the Communists prepared to attack us even as we were fighting the Japanese together. Once the Japanese were defeated, the Communists turned on us and began to drive us out of the nation. We are confined to Taiwan and some other nearby islands for now.

We began preparations to retake the mainland in 1950, but knew that we needed help from the United States. Thankfully, the United States has been a loyal ally. The North Korean Communist invasion of South Korea on June 25, 1950 convinced the United States that communist countries were trying to conquer Asia. Only two days later, the United States brought in their Seventh Fleet to prevent the Chinese Communists from attacking us. Unfortunately, the United States also insisted that we refrain from attacking the mainland.

To better ensure our security, we signed the U.S.–Republic of China (ROC) Mutual Defense Treaty in 1954, which stated that the United States would defend us if we were attacked by an enemy. Realizing that we were still the rightful leaders of China, the United States also made sure we held the spot for China in the United Nations and supplied us with economic and military aid to help us against the constant Communist threat.

The first Taiwan Strait crisis began when the Communists started bombing Quemoy (an island we control which is located right off of China's Fujian province) in 1954. The Communists continued this for a year, then suddenly invited us to negotiate with them. However, they said that we would be treated as "local authorities" while they would be the "central government," a completely unacceptable proposal. They also claimed they were willing to reunite peacefully, but we knew that they were lying. Besides, we would only agree to reunify under Nationalist Party rule.

In 1958, the Communists started to shell Quemoy once again, starting the second Taiwan Strait crisis. They showed their belligerence and terrorism by continuing to shell Quemoy every other day up until now (1978)! In response, we reaffirmed our cooperation with the United States in 1960.

Our leader Chiang Kai-shek was ready to invade the mainland and gain control of all of China once again in 1962, but the United States refused to support Chiang's invasion plan. Since we needed U.S. support to be successful, we could not carry out the invasion.

Our fortunes took a sudden turn for the worse in the early 1970s when countries around the world began to withdraw diplomatic recognition from our government and recognized the Chinese Communists as the true leaders of China instead. We withdrew from the United Nations in 1971 when it became obvious that we would be voted out of the United Nations. Then, in December 1978, the United States announced that it too would shift its diplomatic relations from us to the Communists. The United States also ended the U.S.–ROC Mutual Defense Treaty and announced that it will evacuate all its troops from our island, but will maintain "cultural, commercial, and other unofficial relations with the people of Taiwan."[1] The Communists undoubtedly hoped that this loss of international support would weaken our

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resistance, so our leader Chiang Ching-kuo gave a speech to remind the world that we will follow a "Three No's policy": no contact, no negotiation, and no compromise with the China mainland. Further, our mission of "recovering the mainland and delivering the compatriots there"[2] remains unchanged despite the more difficult circumstances in which we now find ourselves.

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[1] Cheng, Tun-jen, Chi Huang, and Samuel S.G. Wu, eds. *Inherited Rivalry: Conflict Across the Taiwan Straits.* Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc. 1995. p. 236.
[2] *Ibid.*

## GROUP TASK

Your task is to create something which expresses the history of the Taiwan Strait conflict as it was presented in the speech you have just read. The format of your creation is your choice: a cartoon, a radio broadcast, a poem, a propaganda poster, an editorial, or a TV news show. You will then present your creation to the class for five minutes.

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- State the preferred solution to the Taiwan Strait conflict from the perspective of the government whose views were expressed in the speech you just read.

## handout #3

# HISTORY OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND TAIWAN PROVINCE, 1979–1987

Hypothetical View from Beijing, December 31, 1987

We began a new era in our relations with Taiwan province on the first day of 1979. The United States recognized us as the "sole legitimate government of China"[1] on that day and ended its diplomatic relations with Taiwan. Since the U.S.'s support of Taiwan had been one of the main obstacles to successful reunification, this was an historic event for us. On the same day, we issued a "Message to Taiwan Compatriots" asking Nationalist officials to join us in reunification negotiations. We proposed an end to military confrontation, and stopped shelling Nationalist-controlled islands to prove that we wanted to resolve the Taiwan issue peacefully. We also asked the Taiwanese government to help us establish mail, trade, and transportation links and exchanges of people between our two regions as a first step toward peaceful reunification. Unfortunately, the Nationalists rejected these friendly invitations.

We were disturbed that the United States continued to sell weapons to Taiwan even though the United States no longer recognized Taiwan as a country. Thus, in 1982 our government signed the U.S.–PRC (People's Republic of China) Joint Communiqué, a statement in which the United States promised to gradually decrease the amount of weapons it sold to Taiwan. Since Taiwan had been receiving large amounts of advanced weapons from the United States, this agreement eased the threat of Taiwanese military attacks on our territory. The United States also stated that it followed a one-China policy, thus acknowledging that Taiwan is formally part of China and must be treated as a part of the People's Republic of China.

Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping was then so eager to reunite China that in 1983 he proposed a generous reunification plan which would allow Taiwan to follow its own internal policy and keep its armed forces even after reunification. He called this a "one country, two systems" policy and invited both Hong Kong and Taiwan to join the mainland under these conditions. While Britain agreed to return Hong Kong to the mainland under the "one country, two systems" policy, the Nationalists on Taiwan once again stubbornly refused our offer.

Our party displayed its peaceful intentions and goodwill once again in 1986, when we unilaterally decided to stop dropping political propaganda leaflets on Taiwan even though the Nationalists continued to drop similar leaflets on the mainland. However, for the first time since 1949, Taiwanese officials did agree to meet with our officials, though only to negotiate the return of a Taiwanese plane to Taiwan. The Taiwanese government still refused to attend talks concerning reunification.

This November (1987) finally brought a major breakthrough in cross-Strait relations, as Taiwan decided to allow its citizens the freedom to travel to the China mainland. We have invited the Taiwanese people to visit China since 1979, but until now their government has refused to join us in promoting such exchanges. We are pleased at this important sign of cooperation and hope that the Nationalists will continue to work with us to reunify China peacefully.

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[1] Cheng, Tun-jen, Chi Huang, and Samuel S.G. Wu, eds. *Inherited Rivalry: Conflict Across the Taiwan Straits*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Reinner Publishers, Inc. 1995. p. 236.

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# GROUP TASK

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In your creation and presentation, be sure to:

- Name and describe at least three important events that occurred during the time period you read about.
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- State the preferred solution to the Taiwan Strait conflict from the perspective of the government whose views were expressed in the speech you just read.

# handout #4

## HISTORY OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CHINA MAINLAND AND TAIWAN FROM 1979–1987

Hypothetical View from Taipei, December 31, 1987

January 1, 1979 brought several unexpected changes in our relations with the government in Beijing. On that day, the Chinese Communists stopped bombing our islands and ended their policy of trying to achieve reunification by military means. They invited us to discuss the peaceful reunification of China and also asked our government to participate in exchanges of people and in mail, trade, and transportation links. However, we rejected their invitations because we knew that despite what the Communists said, their goal was still to reunify China under their rule.

On the same day, the United States shifted its diplomatic recognition to the Beijing authorities. This left us basically isolated in the world because many international organizations also banned us from membership. However, later in 1979 the Taiwan Relations Act became law in the United States. This act allowed U.S. arms sales to the Republic of China to continue, as well as "unofficial" government contacts between the two regions. Thus, our relations with the United States persisted despite the legal changes, and we continued to receive valuable weapons and technology from the United States.

In 1981, our National Congress modified our policy towards Communist China. We changed our formal policy of "recovering the mainland by force," to "unifying China under the Three Principles of the People (freedom, democracy, and equality of wealth)." By doing so, we showed that we hoped to avoid military conflict and supported the reunification of China.

The U.S.–PRC (People's Republic of China) Joint Communiqué of 1982 greatly hurt our military prospects. In that agreement, the United States promised China that they would gradually reduce the amount of weapons they sold us. We were forced to rely more and more on arms sales from other countries and on weapons produced in Taiwan.

Confident that they had the advantage, the Communists then made several reunification offers under a "one country, two systems" policy. We rejected this invitation because under such a policy Beijing would be the national government while we would serve only as a local government. The "one country, two systems" policy would thus deny our international status as the rulers of China. Under this policy, the Communists would certainly find ways to slowly destroy our Party and gain control of Taiwan themselves. The "one country, two systems" policy was therefore nothing more than a disguised Communist takeover.

Instead of reunifying China under Communist rule, our president, Chiang Ching-kuo, said that, "what the Chinese need is a China under the Three Principles of the People."[1] It was clear that the Three Principles had been a much better system for the Chinese people than communism. The standard of living on Taiwan is much higher than on the mainland. Reunification under the Three Principles of Nationalist rule is the only reunification plan we would accept.

The Communists showed that their peaceful invitations were not sincere when they admitted in 1985 that they "could not promise not to use military force against Taiwan."[2] This convinced us that we still could not trust the Communist bandits, so we continued our policy of no contact, no negotiation, and no compromise with the China mainland.

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However, President Chiang Ching-kuo realized the need for political reform on Taiwan to show the world that the Nationalists would rule China better than the Communists. Several political reforms began in 1986, including the formation of new political parties. Just last month [November 1987], the government allowed Taiwanese citizens to travel to the mainland for the first time since 1949. We decided to take this first step in promoting exchanges in order to "provide the [Taiwanese] visitors [to the China mainland] with an opportunity to increase through comparison their own appreciation of the ROC's [Republic of China's] system and their support for Taipei, while deepening mainland people's knowledge of the progress and success of the renowned Taiwan experience."[3] However, we are still worried that more exchanges with the Communists will make us dependent on them, so we will cooperate with the Chinese government only partially, and always cautiously.

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[1] Cheng, Tun-jen, Chi Huang, and Samuel S.G. Wu, eds. *Inherited Rivalry: Conflict Across the Taiwan Straits.* Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc. 1995. p. 239.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Wang, Yu San, ed. *Foreign Policy of the Republic of China on Taiwan: An Unorthodox Approach.* New York: Praeger. 1990. p. 198.

## GROUP TASK

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## handout #5

# HISTORY OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND TAIWAN PROVINCE, 1988–1995

Hypothetical View from Beijing, December 31, 1995

The Nationalists finally began to cooperate with us after 1987. They passed laws allowing travelers to come here, permitted investment into China, and approved other links. We had been asking for such exchanges since 1979 and were surprised at how long it took the Nationalists to join us in building bridges between our two governments. In 1988, we passed regulations to make investment into the People's Republic of China easier for companies and individuals in Taiwan province. Such investment grew so quickly that by 1990, Taiwan was the second-largest investor in China. The increased trade and investment has helped our economy to grow and will make reunification easier.

There have been improved links between Taiwan province and China in other areas as well. Telephone lines between the two regions were connected in 1989, and we began to exchange mail in 1993. That same year, representatives of our governments also negotiated agreements on issues like fishing disputes and lost mail, greatly reducing tensions.

Despite such cooperation, the Nationalists still refuse to join us in reunifying China. They continue to reject our "one country, two systems" plan even though this lets them keep control over the areas they now govern. Instead, their government has proposed a "one country, two regions" concept. However, this is what the relationship between our two areas seems to be now, so their proposal is meaningless. Their president, Lee Teng-hui, said that any negotiations must be done on an equal "government-to-government" basis and not just between ruling parties. This is absurd. If the Nationalists support a "one-China" policy as they say they do, there can be only one government of China, and that government is clearly the Chinese Communist Party.

Lee Teng-hui became president of the so-called "Republic of China" in 1988 after Chiang Ching-kuo died. However, unlike Chiang, President Lee has not shown full commitment to a "one-China" policy. Though he says he supports a "one-China" policy and wants national reunification, he has simultaneously been trying to get recognition for Taiwan as a country of its own. He has lured several small countries to establish diplomatic relations with Taiwan by paying them large sums of money, and continues to try and get Taiwan into international organizations in which we already represent China. These efforts can only be seen as attempts to divide the nation into two Chinas, and we have opposed such efforts as strongly as possible.

The Democratic Progressive Party on Taiwan has been another major problem. In 1991, this party established the independence of Taiwan as its goal. Such a plan to sell China's territory and split the country in half is simply unacceptable. The Chinese people want reunification, and we will not let the Democratic Progressive Party separate the nation against the will of the people.

The possibility that Lee Teng-hui or the Democratic Progressive Party may try to divide the country in two has forced us to keep open the possibility of using force to keep China together. We want a peaceful reunification, but we will not sit by and allow separatists to tear China apart.

To prove that a peaceful reunification is our wish, in 1990, we removed all our troops from the province nearest Taiwan.

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However, the Nationalists started to buy weapons from the United States once again in 1992. This was a show of mistrust by the Nationalists and an illegal activity by the United States, since they had promised to decrease the amount of weapons they sold to the Taiwan authorities in a 1982 agreement with us.

We took no action at that time, but Lee Teng-hui's activities in 1995 were too much. That June, President Lee decided to enter the United States to give a lecture. Since the United States recognizes us as the only rulers of China and supports a "one-China" policy, we considered Lee's visit illegal. The United States should not have allowed it. Worse, in his speech, Lee promoted the ideas of "two Chinas" and "one China, one Taiwan" in an attempt to win support for an independent Taiwan. Of course, we could not accept such separatist language. We canceled talks between our officials and Taiwanese officials, severely criticized Lee's actions, and held military exercises near Taiwan to remind their leaders that we are ready to defend the unity of China.

Since 1992, our goal has been to work with Taiwan to "make the economy and trade the center (of our attention), continuously expand areas for cooperation, and gradually open up a road which will benefit the peaceful reunification of the motherland."[1] We desire a peaceful reunification as soon as possible, but we will be patient until the conditions are appropriate. However, we will continue to fight against any attempts to create "two Chinas" or to create an independent Taiwan.

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[1] Zhan, Jun. *Ending the Chinese Civil War: Power, Commerce, and Conciliation between Beijing and Taipei.* New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, Inc. 1993. p. 173.

# GROUP TASK

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# HISTORY OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CHINA MAINLAND AND TAIWAN, 1988–1995

Hypothetical View from Taipei, December 31, 1995

After allowing travel to the mainland late in 1987, our government removed many other barriers to exchange between Communist China and Taiwan. We legalized indirect trade with China in 1989 and legalized indirect investment there the following year. Why did we suddenly decide to increase our contacts with the mainland? We realized that travel and trade between the two regions would give us economic influence over the China mainland and would also introduce the mainland Chinese people to Taiwan's economic prosperity and political freedom, aiding the democracy movement in China.

Indeed, trade between both regions has flourished, helping both of our economies to grow rapidly. By investing heavily in the mainland, we have also made them more dependent on us. However, our hope that we could bring democracy to China has been less successful.

The terrible massacre of pro-democracy protesters in Beijing's Tiananmen Square on June 4, 1989 was a reminder to us that there is still a huge political gap between our two governments. We repeated our conviction that we will never reunify under communism. The "one country, two systems" reunification plan that the Communists advocate is unacceptable because the people on Taiwan will never agree to place themselves under communist rule.

Nevertheless, we wanted to promote peaceful relations with the mainland, so President Lee Teng-hui formally ended the state of war with the communist government and recognized the Chinese Communist Party as a "legal political entity" in 1991. More importantly, we formally promised not to use force against the mainland in the same year. However, the Communists refused to promise that they would not use force against us. Thus, "military invasion from the Communist China is [still] the most direct and serious threat to our national security. …"[1]

Though relations between our two governments improved greatly during the early 1990s, the new Democratic Progressive Party in Taiwan has created some problems. This party, formed in 1986 to oppose our party, advocates independence for Taiwan. This would create serious problems, because if Taiwan were to declare independence, we know that the mainland would attack us. Our party continues to advocate social and economic reconciliation with the mainland, while postponing a political reunification. We hope to maintain the current situation as long as possible, because we are presently free to rule Taiwan, can invest in the China mainland to aid our economic growth, and are using increased contacts with the mainland to more quickly bring a democratic system like Taiwan's to all of China.

In foreign relations, the mainland has continued to try to isolate us so that it can bully us around. China has blocked us from entering international organizations and pressured other countries into ending their relations with us. Without international recognition, we are not protected under international laws and agreements. Many countries also will not sell us weapons because they are afraid of punishment from the China mainland. Thus, in 1993 we established "re-entry to the United Nations" and "enhancing country-to-country ties"[2] as our highest priorities. We have made several efforts in the last few years to re-enter the United

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Nations and to establish diplomatic relations with new countries. Though we have not had much success, we will keep trying because we feel that we should have the same rights as all other nations.

The most recent crisis in our relations with the China mainland came in June of this year (1995), when our president, Lee Teng-hui, went to Cornell University in the United States to give a lecture. This was only an unofficial visit, but China responded by canceling negotiations with us and accusing President Lee of "departing from the 'one-China' policy" and "promoting Taiwan independence,"[3] merely because he was a Nationalist official in the United States. Worse, the Chinese Communists then held military tests within 100 miles of Taiwan. Such intimidation did not prevent us from continuing to seek international support, but it did increase our fears that the Communists will use military means to force reunification. We hope we can continue to influence China to move towards a democratic political system. Only when China becomes democratic like Taiwan will reunification be possible.

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[1] Cheng, Tun-jen, Chi Huang, and Samuel S.G. Wu, eds. *Inherited Rivalry: Conflict Across the Taiwan Straits.* Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc. 1995. p. 252.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 255.

[3] Chiu, Hungdah, and June Teufel Dreyer. *Recent Relations Between China and Taiwan and Taiwan's Defense Capabilities.* Baltimore, MD: Occasional Papers/Reprints Series in Contemporary Asian Studies, Inc. 1996. p. 4.

## GROUP TASK

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# HISTORY OF THE TAIWAN STRAIT CONFLICT

primary source: *The Dictionary of 20th-Century World Politics*, Shafritz, Jay M. et al., 1993.

The island of Taiwan had historically been controlled by China. After World War II, control reverted from Japanese occupation back to China and its Nationalist government. When this government was defeated by the Chinese Communists, the Nationalists, headed by Chiang Kai-shek, fled to Taiwan in December 1949. About 1.5 million people (half of them military personnel) left the mainland. The government on Taiwan then disputed the claim of the People's Republic of China, established on October 1, 1949, to be the legitimate government of the mainland. In addition to Taiwan, the Nationalists retained control of several smaller islands: the Pescadores, Quemoy, Matsu, the Nanchi Islands, and the Tachen Islands.

This internal Chinese dispute became a major international issue because of the Korean War. On June 27, 1950, a few days after the North Korean attack on South Korea, the United States interposed the Seventh Fleet between Taiwan and the China mainland. Though the fleet was removed in 1953, the United States committed itself to the security and independence of Taiwan as part of its global strategy of containing communism. When in 1954 the People's Republic of China began to bombard the island of Quemoy, the United States and Taiwan signed a mutual security treaty in which the United States agreed to defend Taiwan, the Pescadores, and "such other territories as may be determined by mutual agreement." For its part, the Taiwan government agreed not to attack the mainland without prior consultation with the United States.

While both governments threatened an attempt at "liberation" of the area controlled by the other government, the likelihood of major confrontation diminished considerably after another confrontation over Quemoy in 1958. This was especially the case after 1971 when there was a dramatic breakthrough in Sino-American relations. The United States supported the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations, although, much to its chagrin, Taiwan was expelled. In 1972, at the end of U.S. President Richard Nixon's visit to China, Beijing reiterated that it was unwilling to accept the idea of "one China, two governments," "two Chinas," or an "independent Taiwan." For its part, the United States acknowledged that the Taiwan issue should be settled by the Chinese themselves. This process of normalization continued throughout the 1970s. It was announced on December 15, 1978, that the United States had agreed to recognize the People's Republic of China as the sole legal government and that full diplomatic relations were to be established on January 1, 1979. Unofficial links were to be maintained with the people of Taiwan. In effect, the China-Taiwan conflict had reached the stage of ritualization—more ceremony than reality.

Although neither side had formally accepted the status quo, the practicalities of the situation made war unlikely in spite of a significant imbalance in the military power of the two states. In many areas of armament the People's Republic of China has a ten-to-one numerical superiority over Taiwan, but the prospects of this superiority being used have greatly receded since the mid-1950s. Taiwan, eager to deter any military adventurism by Beijing, ensures that its armed forces are sufficiently modern and effective to inflict enormous costs on any aggressor. As China has moved toward developing a market economy in the 1980s, military tensions with Taiwan have declined. At least a million Taiwan residents have visited China since 1987. Indirect trade and indirect investment are booming.

While China and Taiwan are converging economically and socially, they have been growing farther apart politically. In fact, events in the past several years have created new tensions in

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cross-Strait relations, ending the period of relative stability that lasted from the late 1970s until mid-1995. China was angered at Lee Teng-hui's June 1995 visit to the United States to give a speech at Cornell University, as well as his efforts to promote Taiwanese membership in international organizations and to get Third World countries to recognize the Taiwanese government rather than the government on the China mainland. In response to these measures which China saw as promoting Taiwanese independence, China conducted missile tests off the Taiwanese coast in summer 1995.

Taiwan's democratization, which began in 1986-1987, has pulled it further away from China's authoritarian government. Ideologically, the Taiwanese authorities hope that the message of Taiwan's political reform and economic success will influence the pace and character of change occurring in China and hasten the day when the unification of a democratic China will take place. As long as Taiwan refrains from declaring independence and China refrains from military provocation of Taiwan, experts believe that the current state of unsettled affairs will continue to be acceptable to both sides.

# 1996 TAIWAN STRAIT CRISIS

In the early 1990s, relations between Taiwan and the China mainland were relatively smooth. Trade between the two regions multiplied, and semi-official talks were held for the first time in over forty years. It seemed that both sides had reached an unofficial agreement: as long as Taiwan remained committed to eventual reunification with the mainland and to the concept of "one China," Beijing would refrain from using force or intimidation against Taiwan.

However, Taiwanese President Lee Teng-hui's private visit to the United States to attend his Cornell University class reunion in June 1995 created new tensions. Lee's visit, combined with his attempts to get Taiwan back into the United Nations and to establish diplomatic relations with other countries, angered Beijing. China viewed these efforts by Lee to gain what he called "international space" for Taiwan and raise Taiwan's international profile as attempts to "divide the motherland," by positing Taiwan as a political entity separate from China. Beijing responded to this perceived threat by conducting missile tests in the Taiwan Strait. Once Lee reaffirmed his commitment to eventual reunification, China stopped the missile tests.

The first direct democratic elections in Taiwan's history in March 1996 caused additional strain in the cross-Strait relationship. By democratically electing their president, Taiwan's political system became much different from Beijing's, making eventual reunification more complicated. Further, some of the candidates for Taiwanese president advocated an independent Taiwan. In order to send a message to the Taiwanese candidates and voters that separatism was unacceptable, China started ground-to-ground missile tests on March 8, 1996 near two of Taiwan's larger cities, Keelung and Kaohsiung. These tests lasted until March 15, but China also conducted naval and air exercises near Taiwan's coast from March 12 to March 20. China's intent was to "give a clear signal that China will not sit idly by in face of Lee's separatist activities,"[1] and to "demonstrate the country's powerful military might."[2]

Lee Teng-hui, the main target of China's criticism because of his perceived promotion of Taiwanese independence, responded by condemning the Chinese military exercises. He also asked voters to elect him by 50 percent or more since China could say he was not a valid representative of the Taiwanese people if less than half voted for him. Lee also reconfirmed his commitment to eventual reunification with the mainland, but only under democratic rule.

Both the United States and Japan condemned China's military maneuvers. The United States sent one aircraft carrier group to the sea east of Taiwan and diverted another group to the area in order to deter China. The U.S. House of Representatives also passed a resolution that "United States military forces should defend Taiwan in the event of an invasion, missile attack, or blockade by the People's Republic of China."[3]

In the March 23 election, Lee gained 54 percent of the vote in an easy victory. Lee claimed that China's missile tests had helped him to victory by giving his campaign international media attention and uniting Taiwanese voters under the prospect of standing up to China by voting for Lee. China claimed success because pro-reunification candidates collected 79 percent of the votes, while those favoring Taiwan's independence received only 21 percent.

Since the election, China has ended all military exercises near Taiwan, and tensions have cooled considerably. While trends indicate that the late 1990s will see a return to the peaceful and productive

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cross-Strait negotiations of the early 1990s, nothing is certain.

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[1] "Separatists Responsible for Cross-Straits Tension," *China Daily*, March 14, 1996, p. 4.
[2] "Air, Naval Exercises Completed," *China Daily*, March 21, 1996, p. 1.
[3] "Editorial: Historic Elections, Massive Decision," *China News*, March 22, 1996, p. 9.

# handout #8

## INSTRUCTIONS: GROUPS WITH EDITORIALS

I. In your groups, please read the editorial you have been given and do the following:

Summarize the editorial in ten sentences or less:

Answer the following questions *from the perspective of the editorial:*

- What conflict is the editorial addressing?
- Who are the actors in this conflict?
- How is Taiwan's relationship with China described?
- What are the goals of each of the actors?
- What specific incidents led to the current conflict?
- Whom does the author blame for causing the conflict?
- Who does the author believe is responsible for resolving or managing the conflict?

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- What does the editorial suggest the actors should do?

- Do you agree with the editorial's suggestions?

- Does the editorial use any language which you believe is biased? If so, give specific examples.

II. Now, together with the group given a political cartoon from the same newspaper as your editorial, create your own group solution to the Taiwan Strait conflict. Prepare a five-minute summary of this solution to present to the rest of the class.

Address the following questions *from your group's personal points of view:*

- Who should be involved in alleviating the conflict?

- What should each actor do?

- Is your proposed solution an example of conflict resolution or of conflict management? How do you know?

- Why is your suggested course of action the best one?

# handout #9

## INSTRUCTIONS: GROUPS WITH POLITICAL CARTOONS

I. Please look over the political cartoon you have been given and do the following:

Write a brief paragraph explaining the political cartoon.____________________

Answer the following questions *from the perspective of the cartoon:*

- What conflict does the cartoon depict?____________________
- According to the cartoon, who are the actors in this conflict?____________________
- How is Taiwan's relationship with China portrayed?____________________
- What symbols are used in the cartoon?____________________
- What is the theme or message of the cartoon?____________________
- Do you agree with the cartoon's viewpoint? Why or why not?____________________

II. Now, together with the group given an editorial from the same newspaper as your political cartoon, create your own group solution to the Taiwan Strait conflict. Prepare a five-minute summary of this solution to present to the rest of the class.

Address the following questions *from your group's personal points of view:*

- Who should be involved in alleviating the conflict?____________________

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- What should each actor do?____________________________________

- Is your proposed solution an example of conflict resolution or of conflict management? How do you know?____________________________

- Why is your suggested course of action the best one?______________________

# editorial #1: japan

## "CHINESE PUZZLE"

by Hisahiko Okazaki

(modified from the March 4-10, 1996 *Japan Times Weekly International Edition*)

(reprinted with permission)

What is China really up to? Beijing has mounted verbal attacks against Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui since last summer. It has also carried out military exercises in waters near Taiwan. And it has suggested, through a U.S. expert, that it might launch missiles against the island.

Taiwan is scheduled to hold a presidential election in March and Lee is almost certain to be re-elected. What remains to be seen is whether Lee's support rate will drop below 40 percent, or whether that of politicians calling for reunification with China will increase.

These questions are of marginal importance. With Lee's victory almost assured, Chinese efforts to intimidate Taiwan will not affect the outcome of the election. And Taiwan under Lee will almost certainly stay the course.

On the other hand, Beijing's tough stance against Taiwan has changed the international atmosphere surrounding the island: above all the mood in the United States, which holds the key to the Taiwan issue. …

Since the start of the year, … U.S. opinion has hardened. …

The current (anti-China) reactions (in the United States), however, may have more to do with deeper American values than China's provocative words and deeds. Those values will compel the United States to come to the aid of democratic Taiwan.

Opinion in Japan has not noticeably changed. But Beijing would do well to bear in mind the probability that Japan is bound to support U.S. policy when the Japanese–U.S. alliance is at stake. That means that China may come to confront both the United States and Japan if it sticks with its hardline stance against Taiwan. Nothing could be more harmful to China's future than a confrontation with Tokyo and Washington.

Beijing must change its mindset and pursue a more flexible policy toward Taiwan. I believe this is the only practical way to solve the Taiwan problem.

One thing is clear enough: The popular will of a democratic state cannot be reversed by force, while an authoritarian state can change its strategy or tactics more easily. …

China, already on the path to sustainable economic growth, will regain control of Hong Kong in 1997. If China stabilizes its relations with Taiwan on a long-term basis it can devote itself to economic development, and it will be well situated to become one of the largest economies in the world in the 21st century, with its people enjoying a high standard of living, or "living in perfect contentment," as the Chinese saying goes.

Germany before World War I lost its hard-earned prosperity of half a century because its foreign policy blunders turned the world against it. Japan made similar mistakes after achieving modernization. It is self-destructive to alarm the world. China, a rising dragon in its element, had better check its ambitions.

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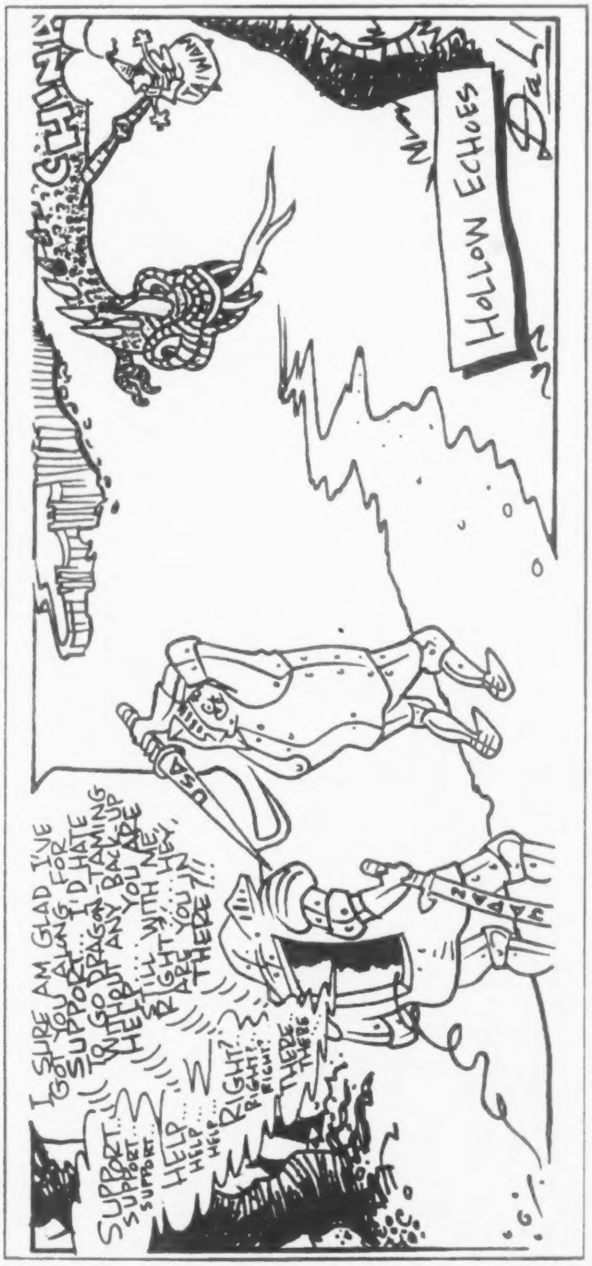
# POLITICAL CARTOON FROM JAPAN


HOLLOW ECHOES
CHINA
TAIWAN
USA
JAPAN
I SURE AM GLAD I'VE GOT YOU ALONG FOR SUPPORT... I'D HATE TO GO DRAGON TAMING WITHOUT ANY BACK-UP HELP... YOU ARE STILL WITH ME, RIGHT? HEY, ARE YOU IN THERE?!!
SUPPORT... SUPPORT... SUPPORT
HELP... HELP... HELP...
RIGHT? RIGHT? RIGHT?
THERE THERE THERE

(reprinted with permission from the *Japan Times Weekly International Edition*, April 1–7, 1996).

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# editorial #2: china

## "SEPARATISTS RESPONSIBLE FOR CROSS-STRAIT TENSION"

by Guang Li
(modified from the March 14, 1996 *China Daily*)

One of today's hottest topics of conversation among Chinese people is the increasing tension across the Taiwan Strait.

What else can evoke stronger emotions in the 1.2 billion people than the issue of reunifying or splitting China?

Taiwanese "president" Lee Teng-hui is the person who created the tension and who must be held responsible for the consequences. ...

[Ever since the Nationalist government was driven from the mainland in 1949,] the Taiwanese authorities ... have claimed to adhere to a one-China policy until Lee Teng-hui came to power. In the past few years, under the cloak of striving for wider international "survival space," Lee has bought entrance into a number of countries that have dubious relations with the island.

Notably after his visit to the United States last year, thinking he had enough support signals, Lee ran wild with his independence claims. On many different occasions, he has made it crystal clear that he is, at heart, for Taiwan's independence.

Only when the "presidential election" came closer, realizing the unpopularity of his pro-independence stance, did Lee resume his old two-faced trick by lowering his tone to try to fool people into voting for him.

But his efforts to wrap fire in paper are in vain. While promising to "spare no efforts" to "put an end to hostilities across the Strait," Lee deliberately avoided mentioning the "one China" principle and reunification with the mainland.

The "fire" he is trying to wrap is his intention to strengthen his stand on "two equal political entities" and "Taiwanese independence." His aim is to turn the current status quo across the Strait into a permanent split.

Taiwan is an inseparable part of China and reunification is the unswerving will of the whole nation, including our compatriots in Taiwan. Anyone who tries to split China will eventually be cast aside as a traitor.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) is currently testing missiles and conducting naval and air exercises off Taiwan.

This move is giving a clear signal that China will not sit idly by in face of Lee's separatist activities.

What the people, especially our compatriots in Taiwan, should really be worried about is not the PLA exercises but the damaging separatist activities in Taiwan and the growing interference in China's affairs by foreign powers.

China has been striving for a peaceful reunification of the country under the "one-China, two-systems" principle. To that end, the Chinese Government has been advocating direct cross-Strait flights, mail and trade. A military solution to the "Taiwan question" would be the absolute last choice.

But whether to resort to force or not is not decided by the Chinese Government but by the actions of the Taiwanese authorities and of some foreign powers, headed by the United States. It is obvious that the further Taiwan moves towards "independence," the smaller the chance of peaceful reunification.

It is the common duty of Chinese from both sides of Taiwan Strait to fight against the separatists and strive for peaceful reunification.

We should also note that relations across the Taiwan Strait have always been haunted by the shadow of the United States.

Though the United States broke off official ties with Taiwan in 1979, before establishing diplomatic relations with China, it has continued to sell high-

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technology weapons to the island it officially recognizes as part of China. Without the United States' political and military support, Lee and his followers would not have gone so far in their separatist efforts.

Before Lee was allowed to visit the United States last year, cross-Strait relations seemed to be developing on the right track with trade and investment increasing rapidly, and semi-official and non-official contacts steadily resuming.

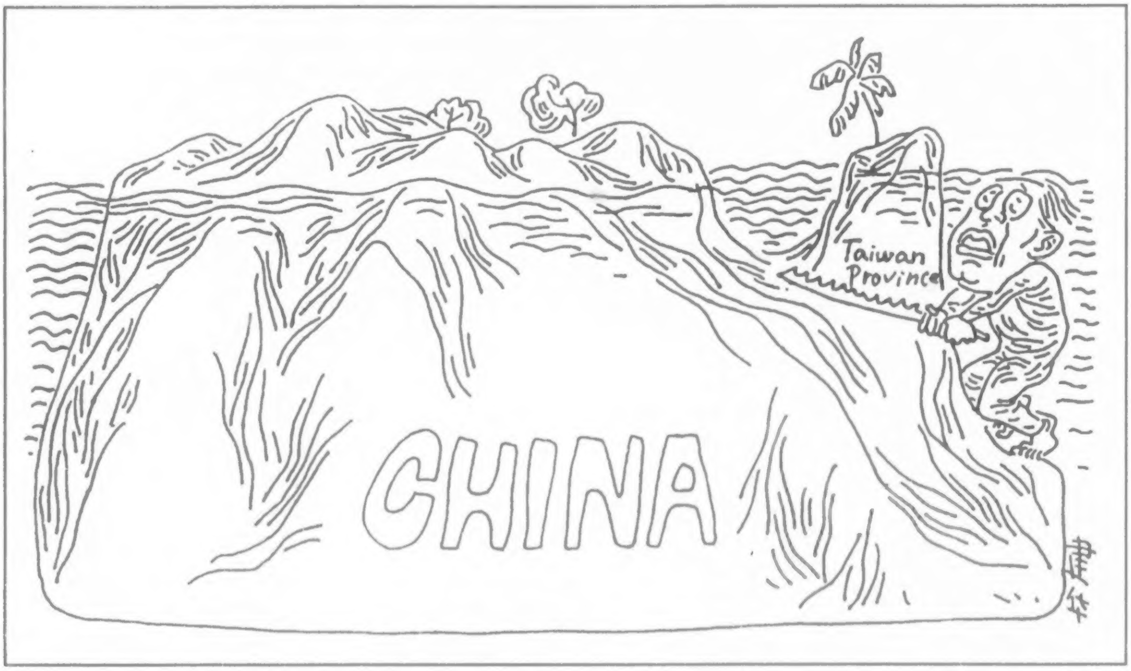
The United States may base its support for Taiwan on various excuses such as "traditional obligations," but the bottom line is that it is unwilling to see a powerful and united China and wants to use Taiwan to contain China. Whatever pretexts it may find, it cannot change the basic fact that the United States, supporting Taiwan openly or secretly, is interfering in China's internal affairs. Such interference is doomed to fail because it is against the will of 1.2 billion people.

U.S. and Taiwanese politicians should not misinterpret the justification and determination of the Chinese across the Taiwan Strait over reunification.

The reunification of the country is of vital importance to the Chinese people. To accomplish it, any cost might have to be justified.

# political cartoon #2: china

## POLITICAL CARTOON FROM CHINA


Taiwan Province
CHINA

(reprinted from the *China Daily*, March 14, 1996)

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## editorial #3: united states

# "U.S. MUST HELP RESTART TAIWAN–CHINA DIALOGUE"

by Thomas L. Friedman
(from the March 19, 1996 *San Francisco Chronicle*)
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As cities go, Taipei and Beijing have little in common. But having just traveled between the two, I found the mood in each eerily similar. In both capitals there is a dangerous hot-house political atmosphere, in which Taiwanese and Chinese politicians and generals have pumped themselves up with illusions and paranoia about the intentions of the other side, so much so that it's scary.

Both of these nations need a dose of reality that probably only the U.S. can provide at this time.

In Beijing, it seemed as if every Chinese official I spoke to talked about "Senegal," the African state that recently opened diplomatic relations with Taiwan, severing ties with China. "Senegal? Senegal?" I would ask incredulously. "How can China, a great nation of 1.2 billion people, be worried about Taiwan's relations with Senegal?" It symbolized for me the depth of China's obsession with Taiwan and the independence moves of Taiwanese President Lee Teng-hui.

In Taiwan, by contrast, I found a troubling calm. Despite the Chinese war games, Taiwanese seemed generally relaxed now that the U.S. Seventh Fleet is off shore. Indeed, the presence of the U.S. flotilla seems to have bred a certain cockiness there.

America cannot negotiate an end to this crisis. But what the U.S. can do, and must do, is be the reality principle, setting the boundaries of what is permissible and showing both sides the pathway back to dialogue.

To Taiwan, the U.S. message has to be: "Your economics has changed in remarkable ways. Your politics has changed in remarkable ways. But your geography hasn't changed at all. You are still 21 million Chinese living next to 1.2 billion and you have to reach an accommodation with them, because we're not going to park the U.S. Navy on your doorstep forever. Time is not on Taiwan's side in an atmosphere of confrontation with China.

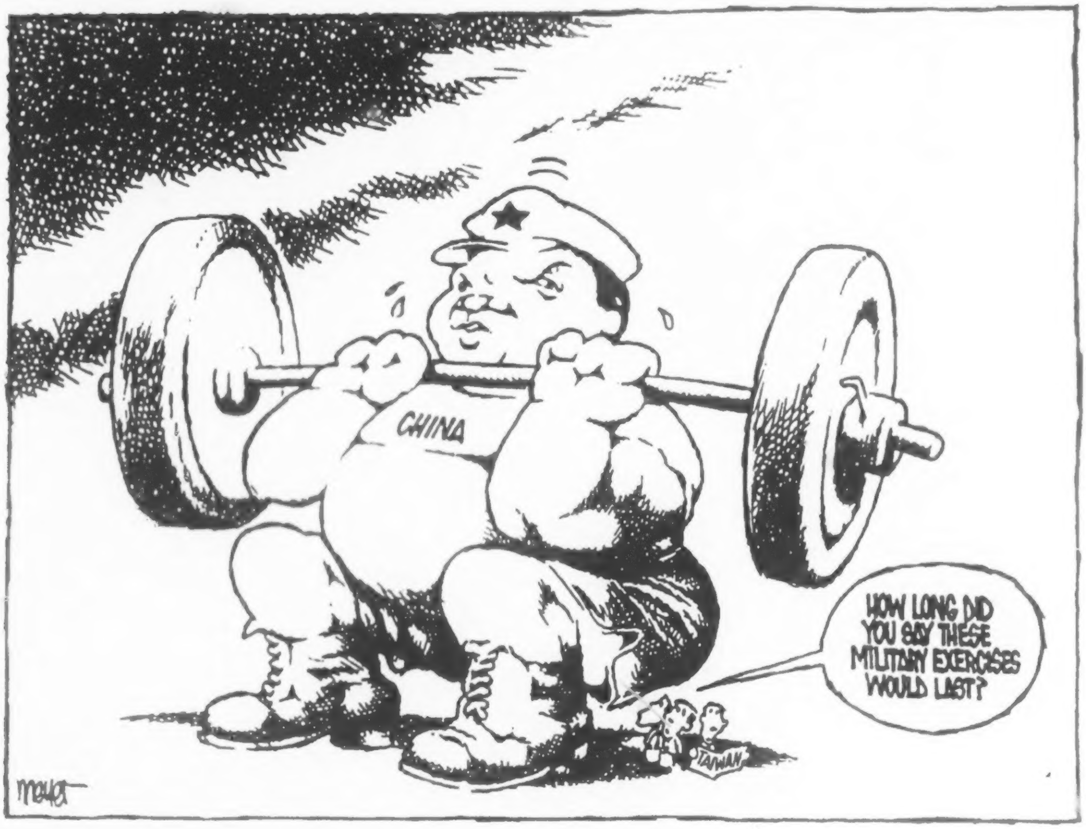
"But time is on Taiwan's side in an atmosphere of reconciliation. Because over the decades, if China stays on this free-market economic track, China will only become more like Taiwan, and Taiwan can play a major, and profitable, role in that transformation. When your election concludes next week, China will be listening carefully to what you say. Make a gesture that will calm Beijing's fears that Taiwan is seeking a diplomatic identity that would be independent from China, forever. Say that President Lee has 'no plans' to visit the U.S. and that Taiwan has 'no immediate intention' to pursue membership in the U.N., and then offer to resume dialogue."

To China, the U.S. message has to be: "We understand you have legitimate concerns about Taiwan's future, but get a grip on yourself. If you go to war over Taiwan, your hopes for developing into a global economic power will be set back for a generation. You say you want unity with Taiwan, but you can't force it. The people of Taiwan will only want to voluntarily unite with China if they see that you treat your own people and the people of Hong Kong in a way they find inviting. After Taiwan's election, you should declare that China has no 'plans' for more war games around Taiwan, and offer to resume dialogue."

But while we can set the boundaries, they have to negotiate the core. There is still reason to hope that their common culture can triumph over their divided politics. Their common culture has a deep strain of pragmatism—of finding ways to bend for the sake of stability and commerce. That's the sort of diplomacy we need now.

# political cartoon #3: united states

## POLITICAL CARTOON FROM THE UNITED STATES


CHINA
HOW LONG DID YOU SAY THESE MILITARY EXERCISES WOULD LAST?
TAIWAN
meyer

© Tom Meyer/*San Francisco Chronicle*

(reprinted with permission from the *San Francisco Chronicle,* March 12, 1996)

# "PEACE IS WORTH SAVING"

by the *China News* editorial board
(modified from the March 8, 1996 *China News*)
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Starting today, China will conduct a week-long guided missile tests in waters perilously close to Taiwan. The splash zones targeted for the tests are near Keelung and Kaohsiung, the two major seaports in northern and southern Taiwan. ...

Why ... is Beijing willing to play such a dangerous and high-stakes game? The answer, judging from the signals coming from Washington and Beijing, is that Taiwan's democratization and its attempt to win international recognition are seen by Beijing as a threat to "one China" and to the goal of unification.

According to [U.S. State Department spokesman Nicholas] Burns, the missile tests are a signal to Taiwan, although he disagrees with that signal. It is a signal of warning against separatism, which Beijing believes will get a big boost once Taiwan completes its first-ever direct presidential elections.

Lee Teng-hui has always insisted that all of mainland China's war games were not aimed at separatism, but were the results of Beijing's internal power struggle which is in the process of transition in leadership prior to the death of Deng Xiaoping. Lee believes Beijing is so frightened by Taiwan's democratic presidential elections that it has decided to sabotage the polls by any means.

"There are two objectives to the [Chinese army's] military exercises," Lee said Wednesday. "One is to sabotage the elections because they are afraid of Taiwan's democracy; the other is to force Lee Teng-hui to step down, because they are afraid of Lee Teng-hui."

Lee's argument does contain a grain of salt, to be sure. Beijing is of course afraid of Taiwan's democracy, and fears that democracy could drive a wedge between the two sides that may cause a permanent division.

Beijing is also afraid of Lee Teng-hui, the man it branded as a separatist because of his efforts to break the ROC's international isolation. But the root of the dispute is neither Taiwan's democracy nor Beijing's internal problem of power transition. It is the principle of one-China. ...

This is a crucial issue that has to be resolved before any progress could be made in cross-Strait relations. The two sides should reach a consensus on the definition of one-China, implicit or explicit, to avoid dispute and friction that could lead into a dangerous confrontation.

The problem is not new, but it has become more serious today. In the past, ambiguity was allowed tacitly over the meaning of one-China. Both sides could interpret the term according to their own interpretation.

The ROC interprets one-China as a "goal" instead of a reality. The ROC regards the one-China in abstract terms — a historical, geographical, and cultural China. It is a "one-China not for now, but in the future."

On the other hand, Beijing interprets one-China as the People's Republic of China. "Everybody knows that there is but one China in the world, and that is the PRC." However, Beijing in the past tended to tolerate the ROC's interpretation of one-China, but that flexibility is gradually disappearing as tensions escalated rapidly since last June, when Lee paid a private visit to the United States.

Beijing accused Lee of trying to create two Chinas, arguing the visit was aimed at promoting separatism. It also charged Washington with violating its one-China principle, which has been the foundation of U.S.-PRC relations since 1972 when the Shanghai communiqué was signed by Richard Nixon and Chou En-lai.

# editorial #4: taiwan

As cross-Strait relations have deteriorated to a critical point, it is time for leaders of both sides to try to stave off the crisis.

Missile tests are by no means the proper way to resolve the one-China issue. A further escalation of the crisis would be a catastrophe for the Chinese people. A military conflict would have no winners.

Perhaps the United States should play a role in helping defuse the danger. All the three communiqués Washington has signed with Beijing since 1972 stated clearly that the U.S. commitment to the one-China policy was based on the premise that the Taiwan issue should be resolved by peaceful means. Beijing's military intimidation of Taiwan is a violation of the agreement.

But it is not too late for the three parties to take effective, rational measures to find out a peaceful resolution of the thorny issue.

For Taipei, it is important for President Lee to avoid provocative rhetoric. For Beijing, it should call off the tests and show willingness to talk with Taipei to settle their differences. For Washington, it should act as a go-between to mediate a settlement.

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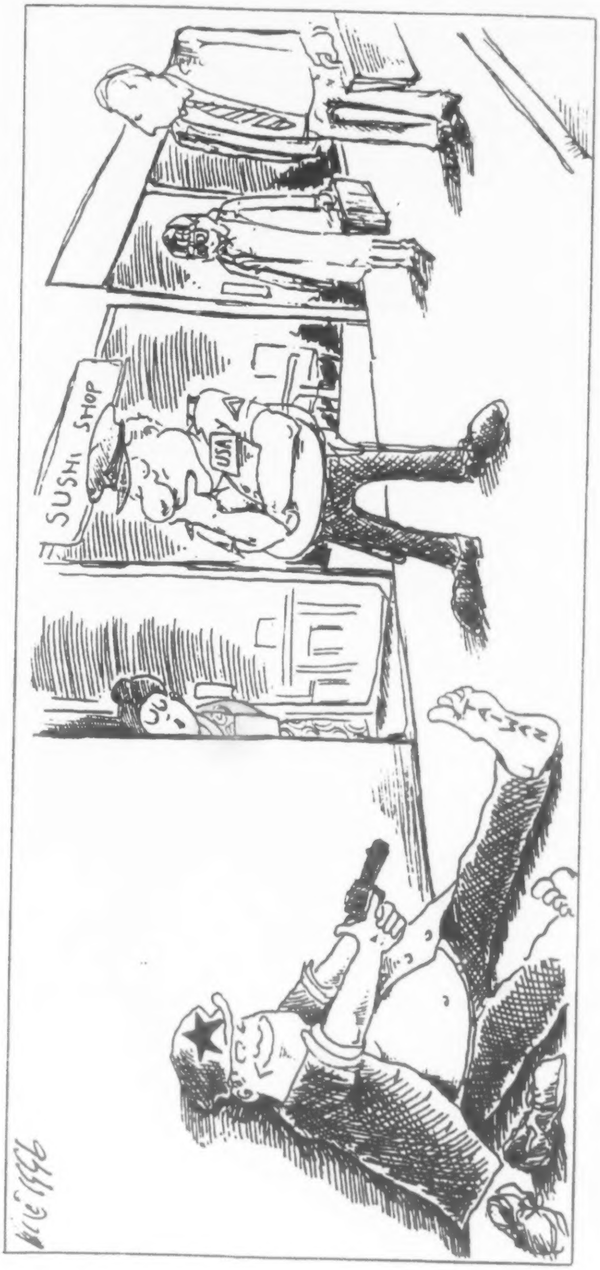
## POLITICAL CARTOON FROM TAIWAN -



(reprinted with permission from the *China News*, March 11, 1996)

# INTERPRETATIONS OF POLITICAL CARTOONS

**Political Cartoon #1 (*Japan Times Weekly International Edition*)**

China is an evil dragon holding Taiwan, which is portrayed as a captive princess. The United States and Japan are the good knights who must come to save the helpless damsel (Taiwan). However, the United States is counting on the support of Japan, which has no voice and no will to fight, refusing to act though it pretends to be an ally of the United States. Note that Taiwan is separate from China, and is a victim of China's aggression.

**Political Cartoon #2 (*China Daily*)**

Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui is trying to cut the Taiwan province off from the rest of China. He goes about his attempt to separate Taiwan underwater, hoping that no one will notice. The sad-looking expression on his face seems to imply that his effort is futile and he will be unsuccessful. Note that Lee Teng-hui is the only actor in this cartoon, suggesting that only the Taiwanese leadership wants Taiwan to be independent. Note also that Taiwan here is portrayed as an inseparable part of the mainland, and is called "Taiwan Province" to stress that it is part of China and should be controlled by China's national government.

**Political Cartoon #3 (*San Francisco Chronicle*)**

China is portrayed as a big bully, performing military exercises as a way to show off its strength. Taiwan is separate, small, and helpless. The survival of Taiwan depends on China's actions, and Taiwan can do nothing but hope that China doesn't crush it. China appears to be struggling to lift its weight, leaving the people of Taiwan in a precarious position.

**Political Cartoon #4 (*China News*)**

China is shooting itself in the foot as the rest of the world watches. Here, Taiwan is a part of China, but China is foolishly hurting itself by preparing to shoot a vital part of its being. The United States and Japan watch with obvious concern to see what China will do but refrain from intervening in the conflict.

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### *Lesson 4*

# SECURITY ISSUES AND THE KOREAN PENINSULA

### Organizing Questions

- How is the U.S.–Japan Security Alliance significant regarding the Korean Peninsula?
- What are some perspectives of China, Russia, the United States, Japan, South Korea, and North Korea regarding security issues and the Korean Peninsula?

### Introduction

Many feel that the U.S.–Japan Security Alliance has been central to peace and stability in East Asia and that this peace and stability depends heavily on U.S. military presence in South Korea and Japan. Today, there are approximately 37,000 U.S. military troops stationed in South Korea and 47,000 in Japan. It is believed that the troops are necessary, in large part, because of tension between South and North Korea. Many feel that without the U.S.'s alliance with Japan and the bases and facilities it provides, it would be difficult for the United States to defend South Korea. Also, if a conflict on the Korean Peninsula were to arise, Japanese failure to support U.S. defense efforts may endanger the U.S.–Japan Security Alliance.

In this lesson, students will be involved in the development of newspapers that present perspectives from the following countries: United States, Japan, North Korea, South Korea, China, and Russia.

### Objectives

*knowledge*

- to identify and understand the complex issues involving the United States, North Korea, South Korea, Japan, China, and Russia
- to learn about the significance of the U.S.–Japan Security Alliance and the Korean Peninsula

*attitude*

- to recognize varying perspectives on security, as they differ from country to country

*skill*

- to experience roles involved with the development of a newspaper

### Materials

- Transparency, Map of the Korean Peninsula
- Handout #1, U.S.–Japan Security Alliance and the Korean Peninsula, six copies
- Country Information Sheets #1–6, one copy each

- newsprint, glue

## Procedure

1. Using the Transparency, Map of the Korean Peninsula, identify the countries close to the peninsula and the bodies of water surrounding the peninsula. Pyongyang is the capital of North Korea. Seoul is the capital of South Korea. North and South Korea are divided by a demilitarized zone (DMZ) along the 38th parallel.
2. Divide the class into six groups. Distribute one copy of Handout #1, U.S.–Japan Security Alliance and the Korean Peninsula, to each group.
3. To set the context for the activity, have students read the handout in their groups. Students should discuss the questions listed on Handout #1.
4. After the discussion, have a spokesperson from each group share the group's thoughts and conclusions with the class.
5. Point out to the class that though it is the United States that has military troops in the Korean Peninsula, other countries in the region are also concerned with security issues involving North and South Korea. South Korea has a large army to defend itself as well. Russia and China, having historical and political ties to North Korea, are also interested in economic relations with South Korea.
6. Distribute one Country Information Sheet (#1–6) to each group. On each Country Information Sheet, students are provided with information to develop a newspaper that presents the country's perspective on security issues. Point out to students that this type of information becomes outdated quickly, and encourage them to utilize current periodicals, newspapers, or the Internet for accessing current information.
7. Conclude this activity by discussing the following question:

- How is the U.S.–Japan Security Alliance significant regarding the Korean Peninsula?

## Assessment Ideas

Some questions to consider when assessing students' effectiveness in developing their countries' newspapers:

- Are essential concepts well described?
- Are multiple perspectives explored?
- How well was the information synthesized, interpreted, and presented?

## Follow-up Activity

Have students write editorials to the newspapers developed by the other students in the class.

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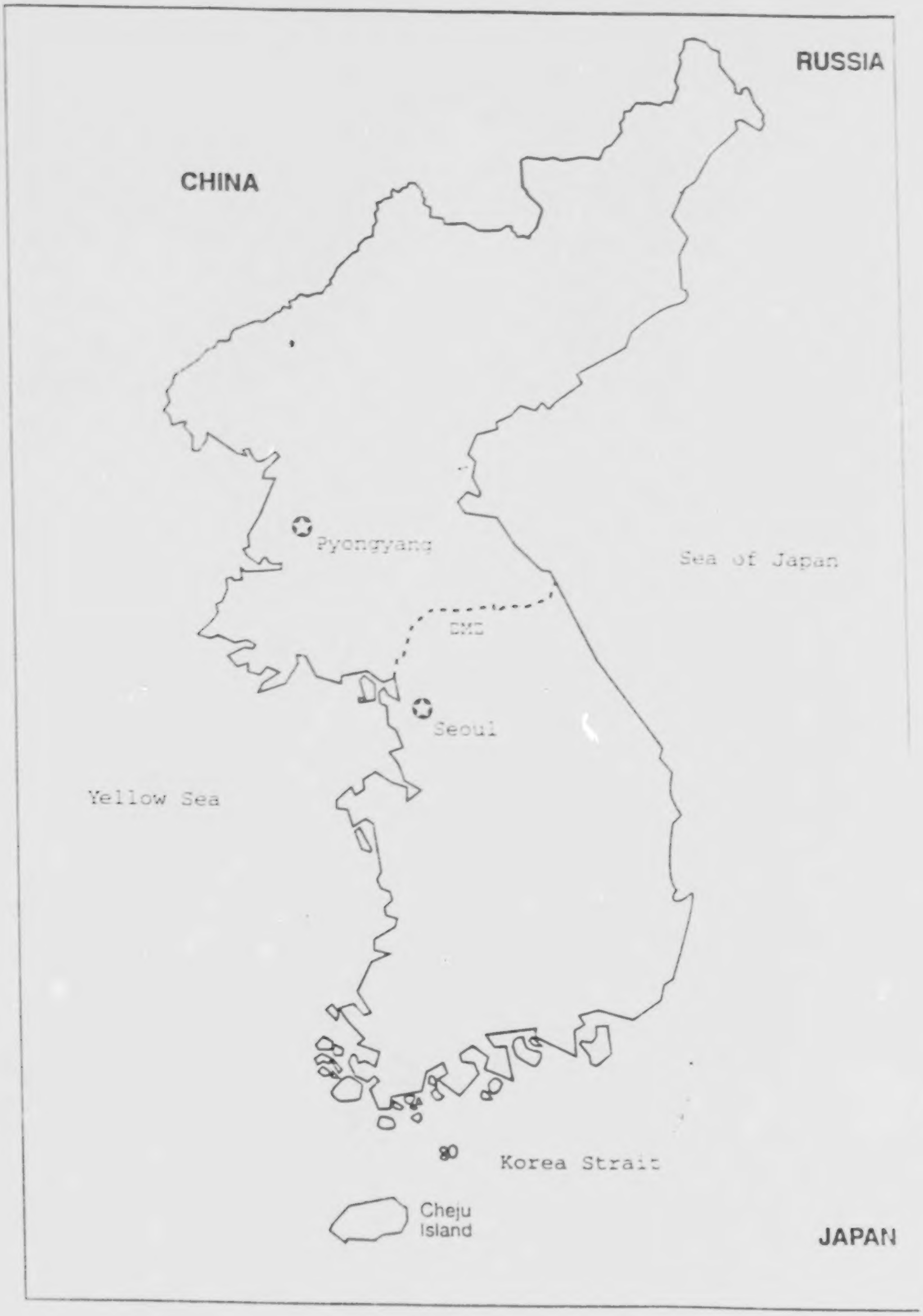
**transparency**

## MAP OF THE KOREAN PENINSULA


RUSSIA
CHINA
Pyongyang
Sea of Japan
DMZ
Seoul
Yellow Sea
Korea Strait
Cheju Island
JAPAN

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# U.S.–JAPAN SECURITY ALLIANCE AND THE KOREAN PENINSULA

The United States has had strong ties to the Korean Peninsula, from the time of the Korean War to the present. The United States is particularly concerned about security issues with North Korea, and North Korea is considered a possible threat to neighboring South Korea. Economically, South Korea is one of the U.S.'s top trading partners. Moreover, since the Korean War, the United States has maintained military troops in South Korea to counterbalance the threat of military attack by North Korea.

From 1910 to 1945, Korea was a colony of Japan. Following the defeat of Japan at the end of World War II in 1945, the Korean Peninsula was occupied by Soviet and U.S. forces. During the years 1945-47, the United States, Soviet Union, and the two Koreas tried unsuccessfully to reunite the nation. By 1948, North and South Korea had split, and in June of 1950, North Korea invaded South Korea.

The Korean War, which spanned the years 1950 to 1953, further deepened the gap between the two countries, and caused other countries to join the conflict. While the United States supported South Korea in the fighting, China and the Soviet Union supported North Korea. The U.S.–Japan Security Alliance was signed in 1951 and went into effect in 1952 when the Korean War was raging. The United States needed to have assurances that it could continue to use nearby bases in Japan. U.S. bases in Japan were indispensable during the Korean War. Finally, in July of 1953, without a permanent peace treaty to conclude the war, an armistice was signed by both Koreas and the fighting ended. Now, the border that divides the two Koreas is the world's most heavily armed border.

It is the hope of U.S. officials that North Korea will fully participate in peace talks with the other countries and that the discussions will eventually lead to a peace agreement to "end" the Korean War. Fighting in the Korean War ended more than 40 years ago with the armistice, but there was no peace treaty ratified during that time or anytime since.

The United States has stated that North Korea has no hope of negotiating directly with Washington. The United States has declared that the rival Koreas have to negotiate directly with each other.

A major issue that concerns the United States is nuclear arms proliferation. It is believed that North Korea is maintaining and developing nuclear weapons. In October 1994, a framework agreement was signed in Geneva (the Geneva Agreement) which stipulated that the United States will be involved in the development of light-water reactors for energy production in North Korea. These new reactors are designed to replace the existing Soviet-developed plants which are capable of producing nuclear weapons-grade plutonium. Also in the agreement, North Korea promised to freeze work on and ultimately dismantle the present reactors.

In early April 1996, heavily armed troops from North Korea moved repeatedly into the demilitarized zone (DMZ)—a strip of land that separates the two Koreas. North Korea declared that with the movement into the DMZ, it was no longer recognizing the armistice, and that it wished to bargain for a new agreement only with the United States, leaving South Korea out of the process entirely.

Presently, there are 47,000 U.S. troops stationed in Japan and 37,000 in South Korea. Both the United States and Japan agree that even though the Cold War is over, the need remains for substantial U.S. forces in the Pacific. Japan will continue to support U.S. troops on Japanese soil. In particular, many U.S. officials argue that continued North Korean threats necessitate a strong U.S. presence in the region and the U.S.–Japan Security Alliance. Some U.S. analysts have argued that in the absence of a Korean threat, far fewer ground troops would be needed.

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*Questions to consider:*

- What are the main issues regarding U.S.–Korean Peninsula relations?

- What impact does the U.S.–Japan Security Alliance have on the security of the Korean Peninsula and Asia?

- What factors determine U.S. policies toward each of the Koreas?

- How do the various economic, political, and social factors affect each other?

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# country information sheet #1

## SECURITY ISSUES AND THE KOREAN PENINSULA: U.S. PERSPECTIVE

### Instructions

1. Designate one or more students to the following roles for your country's newspaper:
    - editor
    - news writer
    - political cartoonist
    - op-ed writer
    - editorial writer
    - advertisement director
    - weather reporter
2. In the newspaper, it is your task to represent the views of the United States that focus on security issues in the Korean Peninsula.
3. Read the background information below.
4. Think about your country's involvement in the issues at hand. Some questions to consider are:
    - What are the factors that impact your country's relations with the Korean Peninsula?
    - What benefits might your country derive from a unified peace agreement for the peninsula?
    - Can your country contribute to the peace process in the region?

### Background Information

The issue of foremost importance to the United States is security and stability on the Korean Peninsula. This concern entails curbing North Korea's missile proliferation and nuclear arms holding as well as U.S. troops that have been stationed in South Korea since the Korean War.

North Korea is believed to be involved in long-range missile proliferation activities. In addition, North Korea is believed to have been selling not only complete missile systems but also missile assembly facilities to countries such as Iran and Syria. Missile sales are a major source of hard currency for North Korea, whose isolated regime is facing severe economic problems. The United States, along with other countries in the region, is concerned that North Korea could develop even more powerful weapons which would be able to strike targets in Northeast Asia, including Japan.

In October 1994, the United States called on North Korea to freeze its nuclear program in exchange for closer relations with Washington. Subsequently, the total amount of bilateral trade between the two countries in 1995 exceeded $5 million—a 28-fold increase from the previous year.

The Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO), involving the United States, South Korea, and Japan, is considered the key to achieving the complete settlement of the North Korean nuclear issue. The organization has been providing North Korea with heavy oil, which is necessary for the production of electricity and heat in the country. The provision of this oil is in return for the North suspending operation of its existing nuclear plants which are capable of producing nuclear materials that can be used for weapons. KEDO is also working to set up nuclear light-water reactor plants in North Korea to replace the current graphite-modulate nuclear reactors.

The United States has always urged China to join the peace talks in light of China's influence over North Korea. However, some opposition exists, as critics have pointed out concerns over Chinese sales of missile technology to Pakistan, human rights abuses, and continuing trade disputes with the United States. All in all, U.S. officials agree that having China participate in the talks would improve current relations with the country as both the United States and China would be working on issues of mutual benefit.

Another issue that has taken precedence in the peace talks is the joint project to recover the remains of U.S. servicemen killed in the Korean War. It is believed that one of the reasons the United States and North Korea have increased contact recently is to work on this project.

In addition, the United States is debating the issue of economic aid to North Korea. The United States has already provided more than $2 million in aid to North Korea and has considered further easing economic sanctions against the country. The $2 million aid was channeled through a United Nations aid agency, and was "not a government-to-government relief." South Korea has persuaded the United States and Japan to delay their food assistance to North Korea for awhile until further developments occur in the peace talks. South Korea stands firm on its position that no meaningful aid to North Korea should be made before North Korea reacts favorably to the proposal for talks.

As for the U.S. military presence in South Korea, U.S. officials have repeatedly stated that the U.S. troops are there to assist South Korea against any attack by North Korea. In fact, the United States will continue to play a strong role as a stabilizing force in East Asia. The troops have been stationed in the country since the Korean War and have, at times, been a subject of controversy, as some South Koreans believe their presence is unnecessary and even problematic.

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# country information sheet #2

## SECURITY ISSUES AND THE KOREAN PENINSULA: JAPAN'S PERSPECTIVE

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### Instructions

1. Designate one or more students to the following roles for your country's newspaper:
    - editor
    - news writer
    - political cartoonist
    - op-ed writer
    - editorial writer
    - advertisement director
    - weather reporter
2. In the newspaper, it is your task to represent the views of Japan that focus on security issues in the Korean Peninsula.
3. Read the background information below.
4. Think about your country's involvement in the issues at hand. Some questions to consider are:
    - What are the factors that impact your country's relations with the Korean Peninsula?
    - What benefits might your country derive from a unified peace agreement for the peninsula?
    - Can your country contribute to the peace process in the region?

### Background Information

Japan supports the peace conference and stresses the importance of tri-party cooperation between South Korea, Japan, and the United States in dealing with North Korean affairs. Japan has stated that it will promote its relations with North Korea on the basis of close coordination with other countries involved in the security issues. In addition, it has declared that Japan will not "seek to improve relations with North Korea at a faster pace than the progress in inter-Korean relations." Normalization talks between Japan and North Korea have been suspended since 1992. Some Japanese officials have hinted, however, that talks between the two countries have resumed to some extent over the issue of emergency food aid to North Korea.

Some believe, however, that Japan's approach toward North Korea is to expand its influence in the Korean Peninsula in parallel with progress in U.S.–North Korean ties. Still, some others believe that it will take considerable time before Japan and North Korea resume full diplomatic relations because other issues, such as Japan's compensation for its colonial rule over Korea, have not been settled.

# country information sheet #2

According to one North Korean official, however, North Korea is seeking additional rice aid for the country and, in addition, is willing to promote economic and trade relations with Japan even before diplomatic normalization. More specifically, North Korea would like Japan to lift a ban on the export of high-tech and other advanced expertise to North Korea, remove discriminatory export insurance and tariffs, exchange trade offices, and provide know-how on the exploration of seabed oil deposits.

As one of the original members of KEDO (Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization), Japan, with South Korea, will be asked to help with maintenance of the light-water reactors which will replace North Korea's weapons-grade nuclear reactors. It is believed that the technological cooperation and personnel exchanges involved in this project would improve relations between Japan and North Korea.

Currently, Japan pays a significant share (approximately 70 percent) of the cost of maintaining U.S. forces in Japan.

# country information sheet #3

## SECURITY ISSUES AND THE KOREAN PENINSULA: NORTH KOREA'S PERSPECTIVE

### Instructions

1. Designate one or more students to the following roles for your country's newspaper:
   - editor
   - news writer
   - political cartoonist
   - op-ed writer
   - editorial writer
   - advertisement director
   - weather reporter
2. In the newspaper, it is your task to represent the views of North Korea that focus on security issues in the Korean Peninsula.
3. Read the background information below.
4. Think about your country's involvement in the issues at hand. Some questions to consider are:
   - What are the factors that impact your country's relations with South Korea?
   - What benefits might your country derive from a unified peace agreement for the peninsula?
   - Can your country contribute to the peace process in the region?

### Background Information

Since its establishment in 1948, the socialist state of North Korea has been ruled by the Communist Korean Workers' Party. However, its state presidency and other top posts have been left vacant since the death of the country's paramount leader, Kim Il Sung, in July 1994.

A major issue that has worried countries such as the United States and South Korea is nuclear proliferation. In 1991, North and South Korea negotiated an agreement to not acquire nuclear arms, nuclear fuel reprocessing, or uranium-enrichment capabilities, and to establish a joint commission to inspect sites in both countries. Since then, North Korea has been unwilling to allow full international inspection of its nuclear facilities, causing much friction to the already unsteady relations between the North and the South. In addition, North Korea has expressed intentions to withdraw from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

One reason North Korea may be maintaining nuclear arms is to counter a possible South Korean nuclear capability. North Korea's Central Broadcasting Station announced that it is the nature of the People's Army and "the firm will of the republic" to "answer fire with fire and a stick with a stick." In April 1996, the country reviewed the reasons for withdrawing from the Korean Armistice Agreement, claiming that South Korea, with the support of the United States, has brought machine guns, heavy weapons, and armed troops into the DMZ. According to the country, the Armistice Agreement stipulates that no heavy and automatic weapons and no more than 1,000 military personnel shall be brought into the DMZ.

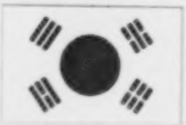
North Korea wants to negotiate a bilateral peace treaty with the United States while leaving South Korea out of the process. It has been suggested that North Korea needs a strong relationship with the United States in order to develop international trade. North Korean officials want to export zinc in exchange for hard currency to bolster their economy. At the moment, U.S. law only permits the import of a single North Korean mineral, magnesite, used to coat the inside of steel blast furnaces.

Currently, due to the collapse of the socialist trade bloc, the country is seeking changes in its external economic policy. According to North Korean officials, the transition from simple barter trade with its former communist partners to complicated forms of business with capitalist nations is needed to promote exports to and obtain advanced technology from foreign countries. For example, North Korea has urged Japan to lift a ban on the export of high-tech and other advanced expertise to North Korea, in addition to other requests which would allow it to participate eventually in the world market economy. However, officials state that North Korea is not abandoning its *juche* policy of promoting a self-sufficient national economy.

Currently, food shortage is a major concern in North Korea as an estimated 130,000 families, or 500,000 people, are at serious risk. According to the UN World Food Program (WFP), the shortages appear to be worsening. North Korea has asked countries including the United States and Japan to assist with the food problem. In June 1995, after the North was ravaged by floods, South Korea offered $200 million worth of food aid. The United States has already given more than $2 million in aid to the country. Likewise, Japan has also extended its assistance by furnishing rice to the country. However, both South Korea and Japan have stated that they are seriously considering additional food aid to North Korea, but are taking a "wait-and-see" attitude due to North Korea's lack of commitment to peace in the Korean Peninsula.

In early April 1996, North Korean troops moved into the demilitarized zone three times, in an attempt to prove that the 1953 Korean Armistice Agreement (which ended the Korean War) was no longer viable. Again in May, several North Korean soldiers entered the DMZ and fired shots in the air before retreating. North Korea spends a quarter of its gross domestic product on its military. Two-thirds of the People's Army is deployed just along and north of the border separating the two Koreas.

# country information sheet #4



## SECURITY ISSUES AND THE KOREAN PENINSULA: SOUTH KOREA'S PERSPECTIVE

### Instructions

1. Designate one or more students to the following roles for your country's newspaper:
   - editor
   - news writer
   - political cartoonist
   - op-ed writer
   - editorial writer
   - advertisement director
   - weather reporter
2. In the newspaper, it is your task to represent the views of South Korea that focus on security issues in the Korean Peninsula.
3. Read the background information below.
4. Think about your country's involvement in the issues at hand. Some questions to consider are:
   - What are the factors that impact your country's relations with North Korea?
   - What benefits might your country derive from a unified peace agreement for the peninsula?
   - Can your country contribute to the peace process in the region?

### Background Information

South Korea calls for security dialogue in the Asia-Pacific region and more specifically for the participation of North Korea in the peace talks. Peace is important in the Korean Peninsula for security and stability in all of Asia, according to the past president, Kim Young Sam, of South Korea. According to him, "it is North Korea that would benefit the most if the talks come through."

North and South Korea have been separated since 1948. South Korea demands that the 1953 Korean Armistice Agreement, which ended the Korean War, be maintained until it is replaced with a peace treaty signed by the two Koreas and endorsed by other countries such as the United States and China. Meanwhile, North Korea has stated that it is entitled to act in self-defense because the South was bringing heavy weapons and armed troops into the DMZ.

According to South Korea's ambassador to the United States, the reunification of Korea is inevitable, and it is not a matter of if, but rather a matter of how and when the two countries will reunite. Once reunited, Korea would become a nation of approximately 70 million people, and would probably become an even more important trading and security partner with the United States. In his opinion, the people of a reunified Korea would support a continued U.S. military presence on the peninsula to help maintain regional stability and to balance the massive military presence of China in the area. Despite past student demonstrations calling for the removal of the bases, the South Korean government remains militarily dependent on Washington to forestall any military action by North Korea.

Still, some South Koreans are tired of the role of "apprentice nation" or "little brother" that they have played since the Korean War. They say that the country deserves the same respect the United States shows other important allies such as Japan.

Reunification is considered a real possibility due to the political instability created by the death of North Korea's longtime leader, Kim Il Sung, in 1994, and the widening economic gap between North and South Korea. Currently, it is believed that the South and North Korean economic ratio is at least 20 to 1. South Korea is in a financial position to be able to help North Korea in its economic hardships. South Korea recently surpassed Germany to rank as the U.S.'s fifth largest trading partner. In contrast, North Korea is considered a "loner" in the world market.

In 1995, South Korea provided emergency rice aid to North Korea, though the shipment was never officially acknowledged by the North. The second round of assistance, in an agreement with the North, called for 150,000 tons of emergency rice aid at no charge. South Korea hoped that this would prevent further deterioration in inter-Korea relations.

Further assistance to the North is expected by the year 2003, when two nuclear power plants from Seoul will be set up in North Korea. The project is being organized by the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO), an international consortium comprising the United States, South Korea, Japan, and other interested countries. North Korea has agreed to stop operations in the Soviet-developed plants which are capable of producing nuclear materials that can be used for weapons. South Korea is the country primarily responsible for the building and funding of the two nuclear power plants. Hundreds of engineers and supervisors from South Korea are expected to cross the DMZ to North Korea for the purpose of overseeing the project.

South Korea believes China is capable of analyzing more accurately what North Korea's intentions are. South Korea's relations with the People's Republic of China have been normalized since 1992. South Korea is continuing to place great importance on stable relations with China as well as with Japan, Russia, and the United States.

## country information sheet #5

# SECURITY ISSUES AND THE KOREAN PENINSULA: RUSSIA'S PERSPECTIVE

### Instructions

1. Designate one or more students to the following roles for your country's newspaper:
   - editor
   - news writer
   - political cartoonist
   - op-ed writer
   - editorial writer
   - advertisement director
   - weather reporter
2. In the newspaper, it is your task to represent the views of Russia that focus on security issues in the Korean Peninsula.
3. Read the background information below.
4. Think about your country's involvement in the issues at hand. Some questions to consider are:
   - What are the factors that impact your country's relations with the Korean Peninsula?
   - What benefits might your country derive from a unified peace agreement for the peninsula?
   - Can your country contribute to the peace process in the region?

### Background Information

Russia believes that the problem in the Korean Peninsula should be settled on a multilateral basis, taking into account the interests of all parties involved. The country is seeking the development of balanced relations with North and South Korea, which will help maintain stability and security in the Korean Peninsula. The country hopes to further the development of cooperation with South Korea, but at the same time, not let that impede relations with the North.

In August of 1995, relations between Russia and South Korea achieved a major breakthrough in an agreement by both countries to provide sites for their respective embassies. In addition, having normalized relations with South Korea since 1991, Russia has been eager for South Korea to expand investment in Russia. South Korea has shown particular interest in commercializing some of Russia's high technologies, including those related to aircraft production and laser science. As of the end of 1995, South Korean investments amounted to $50 million—a sum Russia believes is too small.

Russia's efforts to recover ties with its old ally, North Korea, have brought about only a few substantial results as North Korea is giving priority to improving relations with the United States and Japan. In September 1995, Russia notified North Korea of its decision to discard a 1961 treaty on friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance, signifying the end of decades of socialist alliance with North Korea. Still, Russia considers its relations with both North and South Korea an integral part of the peacekeeping system in the Korean Peninsula.

# country information sheet #6

## SECURITY ISSUES AND THE KOREAN PENINSULA: CHINA'S PERSPECTIVE

### Instructions

1. Designate one or more students to the following roles for your country's newspaper:
    - editor
    - news writer
    - political cartoonist
    - op-ed writer
    - editorial writer
    - advertisement director
    - weather reporter
2. In the newspaper, it is your task to represent the views of China that focus on security issues in the Korean Peninsula.
3. Read the background information below.
4. Think about your country's involvement in the issues at hand. Some questions to consider are:
    - What are the factors that impact your country's relations with the Korean Peninsula?
    - What benefits might your country derive from a unified peace agreement for the peninsula?
    - Can your country contribute to the peace process in the region?

### Background Information

Due to historical and political ties with the North Korean regime, China has considerable influence over North Korea. In the past, China has been used by U.S. diplomats to carry messages to North Korea. In addition, China has been credited with helping stop North Korea's efforts to build nuclear weapons.

In light of this, the other countries involved in the peace talks have placed new hope in the efforts to negotiate a unified peace agreement. With China's involvement in the peace process, pressure on North Korea to resume dialogue with South Korea may increase, and relations between the United States and China may also improve at the same time.

China has declared that as one of the countries that signed the Korean Armistice Agreement (which ended the Korean War), it wants to play a constructive role in maintaining peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula. It has also suggested that Seoul (capital of South Korea) and Pyongyang (capital of North Korea) will have to settle their own differences before outside powers become involved in the talks.

# country information sheet #6

China seems to believe that the U.S.–Japan Security Alliance is the United States' main instrument of containment. By giving U.S. troops a strategic foothold in Asia, the alliance enables the United States to exercise influence over the region. If the alliance were eliminated, U.S. influence would be greatly diminished.

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# STRUGGLING FOR PEACE IN CAMBODIA

## Organizing Questions

- What lessons can be learned from the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) peacekeeping mission?
- Which conflict resolution and conflict management measures were implemented during UNTAC?
- How could these conflict resolution and conflict management measures have been improved or changed?

## Introduction

In March 1992, the United Nations (UN) sent to Cambodia one of the first UN multidimensional peacekeeping missions, called the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC). At the time, UNTAC was the largest mission of its kind in UN history. Although it lasted just 18 months, more than $1.6 billion was spent in a massive, comprehensive attempt to bring more than twenty years of civil war, genocide, and foreign invasion in Cambodia to an end.

A coalition government between two factions known as FUNCINPEC (National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Cooperative Cambodia) and the CPP (Cambodian People's Party) resulted from the UN-run national elections in 1993. However, the CPP's 1997 coup threw the country back into civil war. Fighting between the CPP-run government and faction groups now continues in Cambodia, with no easy solution in sight.

As part of the first generation of multidimensional peacekeeping operations, UNTAC resulted in successes and failures on different levels. As conflicts in the world become increasingly complex, it is important for students to recognize the difficulty in peacekeeping and the continual conflict resolution and conflict management measures it often requires.

Part 1 of this lesson has students review a brief history of Cambodia. Students discuss the types of conflicts which have occurred in the country's history, and those which led to the deployment of UNTAC in 1992. Students also study the general goals and methods of UN peacekeeping operations.

Part 2 has students study an overview of UNTAC and then examine individual components of this peacekeeping mission. They are given the task of analyzing both the successful and unsuccessful aspects of each component and using a worksheet, students formulate ideas on how the conflicts in their component might have been better handled.

Part 3 asks students to synthesize information gathered on each individual component, and write this information on poster paper. Students then learn about the other components of UNTAC, either informally or through group presentations.

# lesson five

Part 4 allows students to discuss their impressions of UNTAC, their recommendations for each component, and general impressions of the peacekeeping process. Students also consider whether their opinions of the overall success or failure of UNTAC changed due to Cambodia's recent political turmoil after UNTAC ended.

## Objectives

*knowledge*

- to understand major events and conflicts in Cambodia's political history
- to understand the various components of UNTAC
- to investigate ways in which lessons about conflict can apply to one's personal life
- to understand the need for peace using conflict resolution and management methods

*attitude*

- to approach conflicts in an open and cooperative manner
- to be sensitive to the multiple points of view involved in conflicts

*skill*

- to work effectively in small groups
- to analyze elements of an event and formulate ideas for improvement
- to practice conflict resolution and conflict management techniques effectively and sensitively

## Materials

- Transparency: Map of Asia (from lesson 1)
- Transparency: Map of Cambodia
- Handout #1: A History of Cambodia, one per student
- Transparency: UNTAC Facts
- Handout #2: UN Peacekeeping, one per student
- Transparency: Cambodia after UNTAC
- Handout #3: UNTAC: Military and Civilian Police, 6–8 copies
- Handout #4: UNTAC: Electoral, 6–8 copies
- Handout #5: UNTAC: Civil Administration, 6–8 copies
- Handout #6: UNTAC: Repatriation, 6–8 copies
- Handout #7: UNTAC: Rehabilitation, 6–8 copies
- Handout #8: UNTAC: Human Rights, 6–8 copies
- Handout #9: UNTAC Worksheet, one per student
- 6 sheets of poster paper, 36" x 48"

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- Felt-tip markers, tape

### Procedure—Part 1

1. Begin this lesson by having students identify Cambodia using the Transparency, Map of Asia (from lesson 1). Ask students to name the countries surrounding Cambodia, and to identify its geographical location (Southeast Asia). Use the Transparency, Map of Cambodia (from this lesson), for a closer look at Cambodia and its surrounding countries.

2. Tell students they will be studying about the history of Cambodia, specifically the conflicts which have taken place in its recent past (1950s through the present). Distribute one copy of Handout #1, A History of Cambodia, to each student. Allow students 10–15 minutes to read their handout.

3. When students have finished, engage them in a group discussion of some of the various conflicts which they read about in the handout. Write students' ideas on the blackboard as their discussion progresses. Some points to ask students to identify in this discussion are:

- When did the conflict happen? Who was involved?
- What type of conflict was it (regarding money, land, power, religion)?
- Did the conflict end? If so, how?

4. End the discussion by focusing on the conflicts which occurred in Cambodia from 1975–1991. Have students reread their handouts to refresh their memory of events. Explain to them that these events eventually led to the UN deployment of a peacekeeping mission in 1992, which they will study in detail.

5. Tell students that before they study about the specific peacekeeping mission in Cambodia, they will first learn about the general goals and methods of UN peacekeeping. Distribute Handout #2, UN Peacekeeping, to each student. Allow students about 10 minutes to read this handout and tell them they will continue studying about UN peacekeeping in part 2 of this lesson.

### Procedure—Part 2

1. Begin class with a brief discussion on why students think peacekeeping is necessary even after a peace agreement has been signed by fighting parties. Have students refer to Handout #2, UN Peacekeeping, to suggest ideas for their discussion. Some things to point out to students, if not mentioned before:
   - The parties at war might not be satisfied with the peace agreement if they did not achieve their goals.
   - The parties might feel the peace agreement is unfair.
   - The parties might be suspicious of their enemies' intentions or actions.

- The parties might not know how to live peacefully with each other, especially if they have been at war all their lives or have deep-rooted hatreds and prejudices.

2. With an overhead projector, show students the Transparency, UNTAC Facts. Read each bulleted point aloud, or have individual students read them.

3. Distribute a copy of Handout #9, UNTAC Worksheet, to each student. As the class goes over the transparency, students should answer questions #1-3 on their worksheets.

4. Tell students that they will now study individual components of UNTAC. Have students divide into 6 groups. Distribute Handout #3 to each student in one group, Handout #4 to each student in a second group, Handout #5 to each student in a third group, and so on. In total, Handouts #3–8 should be distributed to their respective groups.
5. Allow students to read their handouts for the remainder of the class period and instruct them to answer questions #4–7 on their worksheet as they read.

### Procedure—Part 3

1. Begin class by allowing students about 10-15 minutes to finish reading their handouts and working on their worksheets.
2. While students are reading, tape 6 sheets of poster paper at different locations around the classroom. Write the following categories on each sheet:
   - Purpose of component
   - Importance of component
   - Conflicts which occurred
   - Conflict resolution/management methods used
   - Suggestions for improvement
3. With their group members, students should collectively fill out the categories on their poster paper, compiling information that each has collected.
4. Students can then either walk around the room, reading about the different components, or they can present their component to the class as a whole.

### Procedure—Part 4

1. This class period is devoted to a class discussion about students' impressions of Cambodia's peace process. Some initial questions to begin this discussion are:
   - What did they think could have helped their individual component, or UNTAC as a whole?
   - Did they think UNTAC was successful or not? (The teacher may wish to point out that UNTAC is generally regarded as a

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success by the UN and the international community, although some say its most important contribution was that of a learning experiment.)[1]

- What do they think of UNTAC in general?

2. Show students the Transparency, Cambodia after UNTAC. After they have read it, ask if their opinions of UNTAC changed from before. If so, why? Points to address in this group discussion might be:
    - Should UNTAC have lasted longer than 18 months?
    - Should UNTAC have addressed different things in its peacekeeping?
    - What are things a peacekeeping operation can and cannot resolve?
    - UNTAC wanted to stay very neutral in its mission. Do students think this was an important part of the peacekeeping process?
    - Should peacekeeping operations be judged on what happens *after* the operations are over? Why or why not?
    - What are the criteria by which a peacekeeping operation should be evaluated? Should it be evaluated on different levels?
    - Are there any parallels between the conflicts that happened in UNTAC and conflicts that happen in students' personal lives?

## Assessment Ideas

Have students write an essay in response to the following question: "What were the strengths and weaknesses of UNTAC?" To assess students' essays, you may want to consider some of the following questions:

- How effectively are concepts described?
- Are diverse perspectives presented?
- How well is the information synthesized?
- Is the essay well written in terms of syntax and grammar?

As a culminating assignment, ask students to write a letter to the United Nations stating what the students think UNTAC should have done in Cambodia. Consider persuasiveness, completeness, synthesis of information provided during class, and understanding of Cambodia's situation in assessing these letters.

## Enrichment Activities

**Activity #1: Group Discussion**

- Students discuss the differences and similarities in conflicts across UNTAC's components.

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[1] *Peacekeeping in Transition,* p. 7.

**Activity #2: Writing Exercises**

- Students write an essay or journal piece on their impressions of international peacekeeping and the issues involved. Students could also write about what characteristics or components they think an ideal peacekeeping operation should have.
- Students write about any conflict resolution or conflict management skills they studied in reference to UNTAC which could be transferred to their personal lives.
- Students write about the consequences of long-term conflicts, and what is necessary for recovery from them and future prevention.

**Activity #3: Poem or Mural**

- Students write a poem expressing their impressions of Cambodia's recent history and the experiences of the people. Students may include pictures, facts, or quotes from readings.
- Students create a group mural which illustrates the history of Cambodia. Students may illustrate their interpretations of political events, cut out images and articles from recent magazines and newspapers, or write down facts, figures, or quotes from television reports.

**Activity #4: Research**

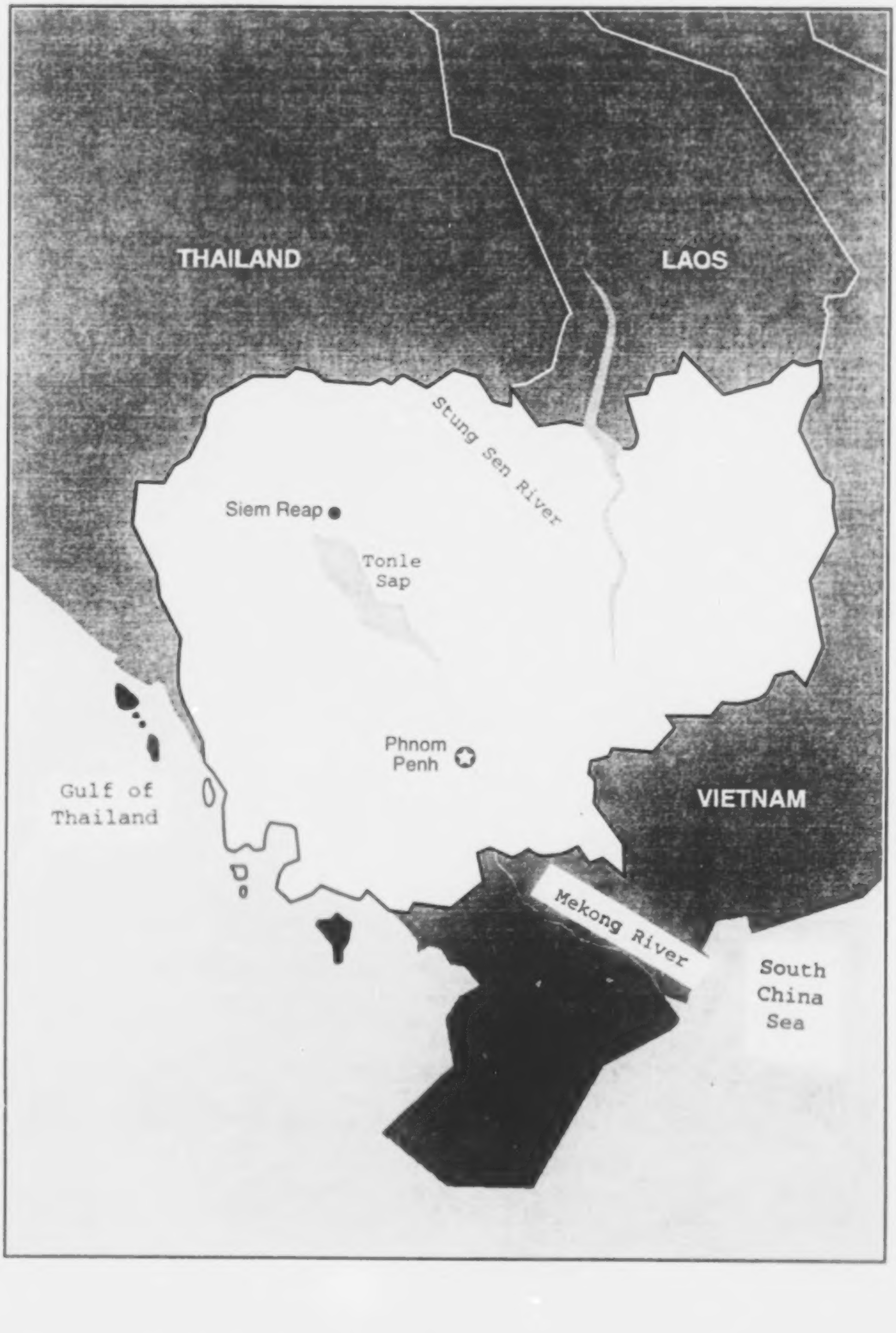
- Students research a component from a past or present UN peacekeeping mission and compare the conflict resolution/management measures used in it with the UNTAC component they studied.
- Students compare the successes or failures of other UN peacekeeping missions with those of UNTAC.

## Policy Study References

"Looking to the Future in Cambodia and Vietnam: Findings and Recommendations of American and Japanese Analysts," Pacific Basin Studies Program, East Asian Institute, Columbia University, New York, NY, and Research Institute for Peace and Security, Tokyo. January 1994.

Okimoto, Daniel et al. A United States Policy for the Changing Realities of East Asia: Toward a New Consensus. Stanford, CA: Asia/Pacific Research Center, Institute for International Studies, Stanford University. 1996.

# MAP OF CAMBODIA


THAILAND
LAOS
Stung Sen River
Siem Reap
Tonle Sap
Phnom Penh
VIETNAM
Gulf of Thailand
Mekong River
South China Sea

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

# handout #1

## A HISTORY OF CAMBODIA

*Cambodia is a small country in Southeast Asia, bordered by Vietnam to the east, Thailand to the west, and Laos to the north. For over 600 years, ancient Cambodia was one of the most powerful countries in Southeast Asia. This timeline briefly outlines events in Cambodia's history from ancient times to 1992.*

| | |
|---|---|
| **800–1432** | The Khmer Empire of Cambodia rules most of Vietnam, Thailand, and Laos, and builds the beautiful capital of Angkor in the northern part of the country. Angkor is the administrative, cultural, and religious center of the Khmer Empire. At its peak, Angkor has palaces and temples stretching over 1,000 square miles and is home to 750,000 people. |
| **1432–1600** | The Khmer Empire declines as a result of internal feuding and constant war with Thailand. For a few years, Cambodia asks for the help of Spain in its war with Thailand, and falls under Spanish rule during this time. |
| **1600–1863** | Cambodia is ruled by a series of kings, whose officials constantly fight with each other. As a result, Cambodia seeks the protection of both Vietnam and Thailand, who rule different parts of the country. |
| **1863** | France arrives in Cambodia and exerts increasing influence in the country's politics. In 1884, Cambodia becomes a French colony. |
| **1954** | Cambodia gains independence from France. |
| **1955–70** | Cambodia's Prince Norodom Sihanouk rules Cambodia as its Head of State. During the 1960s, many Cambodians protest Sihanouk's socialist policies, government corruption, and intolerance of political opposition. Different political parties develop, each of whom has different ideas for how Cambodia should be governed. Sihanouk also angers the United States by supporting North Vietnam during the Vietnam War. He allows Northern Vietnamese troops to use Cambodian territory to fight South Vietnam and the United States. |
| **1970–75** | With the help of the United States, Sihanouk's former military chief Lon Nol deposes Sihanouk to become Head of State in 1970. Lon Nol's government rules for five years. Cambodians suffer from government corruption, high taxes, and constant war between North Vietnam and Lon Nol's U.S.-backed government. One group, called the Khmer Rouge (meaning "Red Khmer" because of their Communist beliefs), tries to overthrow Lon Nol's government. They become popular because of this effort. |

# handout #1

| | |
|---|---|
| 1975–79 | In 1975, the Khmer Rouge succeeds in taking control of Phnom Penh, the capital of Cambodia. The Khmer Rouge's leader is a man named Pol Pot. He wants to transform Cambodia into a communal, agrarian society in which agriculture is the main industry and everyone shares all property and wealth. Instead, Pol Pot turns Cambodia into a slave-labor camp. All people living in Phnom Penh and surrounding towns, even the sick and elderly, are shipped into the countryside. They leave behind their homes, possessions, and businesses to live in labor camps. People must work in the fields and dig irrigation canals for 12–15 hours a day. Disobedience is punished by execution. Many of the educated among the workers are shot; sometimes people are killed because they wear eyeglasses, which are seen as a symbol of wealth and intellectualism. Money, schools, markets, and newspapers are outlawed, as are machines and modern technology. Cambodia's postal service is shut down. Cambodia is cut off from the outside world. One to two million Cambodians (estimates vary widely) die of starvation, disease, torture, overwork, or execution. |
| 1979 | Vietnam invades Cambodia and overthrows Pol Pot's government. The Khmer Rouge flees into the jungles to hide. Vietnam puts two men, Hun Sen and Heng Samrin, in control of the new Vietnamese-backed Cambodian government, which is called the State of Cambodia (SOC). Meanwhile, three rebel groups band together to fight the SOC. |
| 1979–89 | Civil war rages on as the rebel groups try to take control of Cambodia. In 1989, Vietnam finally withdraws its troops from Cambodia, but civil war between the SOC and the rebel groups continues. |
| Oct. 1991 | The four factions at war reluctantly sign a peace agreement in Paris (Paris Agreements). Although their differences are not resolved, there is much pressure from foreign nations for them to reconcile. |
| Nov. 1991 | The UN sends a short peacekeeping mission (UNAMIC–United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia) in advance to maintain the ceasefire between the four factions until the main peacekeeping mission can be sent. |
| Mar. 1992 | The main peacekeeping mission (UNTAC–United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia) arrives in Cambodia. |

# CAMBODIA AFTER UNTAC

| | |
|---|---|
| May 1993 | Peaceful elections are held in Cambodia with a 90% voter turnout. FUNCIPEC and the CPP win the most votes. They agree to form a coalition government, in which they will share power, since no party won the necessary two-thirds of the vote to take complete control. |
| Sept. 1993 | Cambodia's new constitution is ratified. Sihanouk's son, Prince Norodom Ranariddh (FUNCIPEC) becomes First Prime Minister. Hun Sen (CPP) becomes Second Prime Minister. |
| 1994–97 | Cambodia's two prime ministers constantly fight and plot against one another, using corruption, murder, intimidation, and political intrigue. The Khmer Rouge forces retreat to the northern jungles of Cambodia, where they launch attacks against the new government, in an attempt to gain a seat in Cambodia's government. |
| July 1997 | The CPP launches a coup against FUNCIPEC and takes complete control of Phnom Penh. FUNCIPEC officials flee Phnom Penh. Those who cannot escape are tortured and killed. |
| 1998 | Hun Sen is now the leader in Cambodia. Ranariddh is in exile, but promises to return to Cambodia to fight Hun Sen. |
| April 1998 | President Clinton orders the departments of Defense, State, and Justice to devise plans for the arrest and trial of Pol Pot, the Khmer Rouge leader. The Khmer Rouge is reported to be near collapse. |
| | Pol Pot dies. |

**handout #2**

# UN PEACEKEEPING

The United Nations (UN) was established after World War II to help solve international disputes, end wars, and prevent future conflicts. One of the UN's most important and difficult jobs, however, is preserving peace *after* conflicts have ended. This is done through UN peacekeeping missions, which require:

> "... the deployment of international military and civilian personnel to a conflict area, with the consent of the parties to the conflict, in order to stop or contain hostilities or supervise the carrying out of a peace agreement."[1]

UN peacekeepers are a combination of soldiers and civilians. Peacekeeping can be very dangerous if citizens of a country are reluctant to end their conflict. They may be reluctant if they have not achieved their goals by the time of a ceasefire, or if they think a peace agreement is unfair. They sometimes try to undermine peacekeeping missions by threatening people through violence. Since 1948, more than 1,500 UN peacekeepers have died as a result of this violence.

For protection, UN troops carry light weapons. However, these troops must use only the minimum amount of force for self-defense, and only in extreme cases can UN troops use physical force to carry out their responsibilities. UN military observers do not carry weapons.

Each peacekeeping mission is very complex. Each has different problems and successes depending on the circumstances and people.

In the future, international conflicts will become more and more complicated. For this reason, UN peacekeeping missions will need to be "multidimensional," which means they will work towards peace on three different levels:

*Peacemaking*: To resolve the issues of a conflict and facilitate a peace treaty. Also called "conflict resolution."

*Peacekeeping*: To monitor the implementation of complex peace agreements. Also called "conflict management."

*Peacebuilding*: To support the political, economic, and social changes necessary to overcome conflicts, and to avoid conflict in the future. This is accomplished through election organization, economic rehabilitation, refugee resettlement, government administration, etc.[2]

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[1] United Nations Home Page: http://www.un.org/Depts/DPKO/

[2] Doyle, Michael. International Peace Academy, Occasional Paper Series: *UN Peacekeeping in Cambodia: UNTAC's Civil Mandate*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 1995. p. 26.

# UNTAC FACTS

*UNTAC (United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia) was a "multidimensional" UN operation because it worked at three different levels: peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding. It lasted 18 months from 1992-1993, and was the largest peacekeeping mission then in UN history. The entire operation cost more than $1.6 billion. UNTAC was not intended to solve all of Cambodia's problems, but rather to start Cambodia's recovery from civil war.*

- Yasushi Akashi was put in charge of UNTAC. By appointing Akashi, the international community hoped to increase Japan's involvement in UN peacekeeping.[1] The fact that Akashi was Japanese helped UNTAC obtain a large financial contribution from Japan, and led to Japan deploying its troops abroad for the first time since World War II.

- About 22,000 military and civilian personnel from more than 100 countries were sent to work in UNTAC; 78 of these personnel died while serving in Cambodia.

- UNTAC's seven components were: Military, Civilian Police, Electoral, Civil Administration, Repatriation, Rehabilitation, and Human Rights.

- Cambodia's four faction groups at the time of the Paris Agreements were:

    1. SOC ("State of Cambodia"): Vietnamese-backed Communist government, controlled most of Cambodia at the time of the Paris Agreements. Its political party was the CPP (Cambodian People's Party).

    2. FUNCINPEC (National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Cooperative Cambodia): Royalist faction led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

    3. Khmer Rouge (The Party of Democratic Kampuchea): Radical Communist faction led by Pol Pot, who ruled Cambodia from 1975 to 1979.

    4. KPNLF (Khmer People's National Liberation Front): Conservative, middle-class movement, especially opposed to Prince Sihanouk.

- A Supreme National Council (SNC), composed of representatives from the four factions, was created to act as Cambodia's interim government before a new one was elected. UNTAC had to approve all its decisions through the SNC. If the SNC could not agree, then UNTAC could make its own decisions.

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[1] Heininger, Janet. *Peacekeeping in Transition: The United Nations in Cambodia.* A Twentieth Century Fund Report. New York: The Twentieth Century Fund Press, 1994. p. 36.

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# UNTAC: MILITARY AND CIVILIAN POLICE

## COMPONENT DESCRIPTION AND GOALS

*The Paris Agreements required that Cambodia have a neutral political environment for its elections to take place and for the country to have a chance to recover from over 20 years of war. The two components of military (known as MILCOM) and civilian police (known as CIVPOL) were very important in maintaining this neutrality. They had to make sure fighting would stop between the factions and that the ceasefire would continue. The goals of these two components were:*

- (MILCOM) Disarm the factions, canton their forces, and confiscate their weapons. Cantonment means the establishment of temporary quarters for troops so that they remain separate from their enemies.
- (MILCOM) Help clear mines from the land, and train Cambodians in mine-clearance.
- (CIVPOL) Supervise and train local police within each faction, investigate human rights violations, and protect voter registration sites and political party offices.

## CONFLICTS

MILCOM had no power to force the faction groups to disarm themselves. It could only investigate ceasefire violations, and try to have the groups come to an agreement. Violence increased, especially as the date of the elections neared. Cambodians were held hostage by their political opponents and UNTAC workers were killed or shot.

From the start, the Khmer Rouge refused to let MILCOM into its territory, claiming that since UNTAC had not followed other requirements of the Paris Agreements, it had no reason to comply with the wishes of MILCOM. As a result, MILCOM was unable to search Khmer Rouge areas for cantonment sites.

CIVPOL were not able to carry weapons, which made it hard for them to protect civilians and refugees against gunfire. CIVPOL also did not have the power to arrest Cambodians, so they could not follow through with their human rights investigations.

## HOW CONFLICTS WERE HANDLED

MILCOM never fired on any factional groups, despite their non-cooperation. UNTAC refused to use force, claiming that this would destroy UNTAC's neutrality, and endanger the lives of its workers.

MILCOM never forced its way onto Khmer Rouge territory, but instead tried to negotiate with them. When disarmament and cantonment of the factions became impossible, MILCOM changed the focus of its goals to concentrate on providing security for the elections, and working on civic projects, such as road building, health care, and water sanitation.

The UN finally gave CIVPOL and MILCOM the power to arrest human rights violators and even built a UN prison to detain them. But because Cambodia had no neutral judicial system and UNTAC had not set up its own court, they had no power to prosecute offenders.

## LOOKING BACK

A neutral political environment was never achieved in Cambodia, and fighting continued. Yet, MILCOM helped the elections to take place by providing protection for electoral workers and polling sites.

Critics claim CIVPOL should have been able to take over the local police, rather than just supervise them, and been given more power to enforce the law.

## QUESTIONS TO ANSWER

Could the conflicts of MILCOM and CIVPOL have been prevented, while maintaining UNTAC's neutrality? If so, how?

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## handout #4

# UNTAC: ELECTORAL

### COMPONENT DESCRIPTION AND GOALS

*Under the Paris Agreements of 1991, the four factions in Cambodia agreed to a ceasefire. Cambodia had suffered a civil war for over 20 years. With a ceasefire in place, the country needed to elect its new government and rewrite its constitution. UNTAC was sent to make sure all the parties would follow the rules of the peace agreements, so that a free and fair national election could take place, without fear; intimidation, or violence. The goals of this component were:*

- Educate voters about their choices in the upcoming election.
- Register voters who were over the age of 18 and were born in Cambodia, or were the children of those born in Cambodia.
- Organize and conduct the election by secret ballots at protected polling places.

### CONFLICTS

Electoral regulations, outlining who could vote and how the election would be carried out, had to be adopted by the Supreme National Council (SNC) before the election could happen. The Khmer Rouge disagreed on who could be considered a "Cambodian person" since they felt Vietnamese settlers might qualify to vote, and would affect the election's outcome. UNTAC then revised the laws, but the Khmer Rouge was still not satisfied. After much debate, the SNC finally approved the electoral laws, despite the Khmer Rouge's objections.

The Khmer Rouge also would not allow UNTAC to enter its zones so that UNTAC could educate voters about their election choices. They refused to put their party on the ballot, and no polling places were set up in Khmer Rouge territory.

The State of Cambodia (SOC) did not cooperate with the electoral laws. They beat, kidnapped, and killed their opponents and sent out propaganda against the Khmer Rouge and UNTAC itself.

The UN considered postponing or canceling the elections or withdrawing altogether, but decided to continue despite the lack of cooperation from two factions. This decision sent the message that the UN would not wait for the approval of all four factions in its decision-making, as required by the Paris Agreements. This angered the factions and endangered the safety of UNTAC workers and troops.

In response to UNTAC's decision, the Khmer Rouge took several UNTAC troops hostage, bombed restaurants and polling places, and shot at UNTAC workers. Some electoral workers were killed. Many people suspected the Khmer Rouge would stop the elections from happening.

### HOW CONFLICTS WERE HANDLED

To counter the violence created by the SOC, UNTAC increased its peacekeeping troops around the country to guard other political offices and candidates. UNTAC also set up radio broadcast programs, in which the four factions could speak and respond to unfair attacks from their opponents. In this way, voters could hear their campaign messages directly.

After UNTAC workers had been shot at and killed, UNTAC issued a warning to the Khmer Rouge that they would be politically isolated if they stopped the elections from happening and would not be forgiven.

### LOOKING BACK

The Khmer Rouge did not disrupt the elections, which were carried out peacefully. Khmer Rouge soldiers were even seen voting at the polls. The elections were held over six days, with a 90 percent voter turnout. FUNCIPEC and the SOC (whose political party was the Cambodian People's Party or CPP) were the major winners.

### QUESTION TO ANSWER

How could UNTAC have reduced the amount of violence that occurred before the elections?

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# UNTAC: CIVIL ADMINISTRATION

## COMPONENT DESCRIPTION AND GOALS

*To allow for equal elections in Cambodia, UNTAC wanted to create a neutral political environment, in which the most powerful party (the State of Cambodia) would not have an unfair advantage. An important way to achieve this neutrality was by overseeing the way each faction group was run. UNTAC was not supposed to change these administrative structures, but rather to watch for behavior that disrupted national security or caused social unrest. The goals of this component were:*

- Oversee the administrative structures of all four factions, and control the areas of defense, foreign affairs, finance, information, and public security in each.
- Not to "govern" Cambodia, but rather to supervise and monitor the administrative structures to create a more efficient and modern government.
- Ensure a neutral political environment for the elections.

## CONFLICTS

Although UNTAC wanted to oversee the governments of all the factions, they concentrated on supervising the SOC administration, which was based in the capital city, Phnom Penh. This decision was made because the Khmer Rouge refused to let UNTAC into its territory, and the other two parties had no clear government structures. The SOC had the strongest structure to work with, and was conveniently located in Phnom Penh, where Cambodia's new government would be centered anyway.

Although the SOC was willing at first to have UNTAC oversee its administration, it took six months for the Civil Administration component to be fully staffed and ready to work. UNTAC's late start made the SOC lose confidence in the mission, and become uncooperative.

The SOC began to run a violent campaign against its political opponents, in violation of the Paris Agreements. It organized undercover squads to harass and intimidate opponents, especially in villages and rural areas. Since UNTAC did not have control outside of Phnom Penh, it lacked the staff to monitor illegal activities in these areas, making it difficult to gather enough evidence against them.

## HOW CONFLICTS WERE HANDLED

The Civil Administration component was allowed to use two methods to keep the faction groups in line: (1) issue "binding directives" or regulations that the factions had to follow, and (2) fire or reassign uncooperative officials whenever necessary.

However, UNTAC did not often use these methods. It wanted to use more diplomacy, negotiation, and compromise rather than issue orders to the factions. The component also rarely fired administrative officials, even in the worst cases. It felt such harsh actions would anger the factions and cause them to be completely uncooperative.

To counter the violent undercover squads of the SOC, UNTAC finally organized a control team which collected evidence against the SOC. UNTAC then conducted raids on the squads on the eve of the national elections.

## LOOKING BACK

UNTAC was never able to control the Phnom Penh government of the SOC, but it did lay some groundwork for making the government more efficient. Critics, however, claim UNTAC's response to the SOC's undercover squads came too late and too little.

## QUESTIONS TO ANSWER

Do you think UNTAC should have used the two methods to better control the SOC? If so, how might the SOC's behavior have been different?

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# UNTAC: REPATRIATION

## COMPONENT DESCRIPTION AND GOALS

*Repatriation means to bring back people, who have been living elsewhere, to their native country and reintegrate them into society. During twenty years of civil war, hundreds of thousands of Cambodian refugees had fled the country and were living in refugee camps along the Cambodia/Thailand border. The skills and labor of these people were needed if the country was to rebuild itself. UNTAC wanted to repatriate these people as soon as possible. The goals of this component were:*

- Refugees would be restored voluntarily to their original homes or wherever they choose.
- Refugee repatriation would take place over nine months.
- Available agricultural land would be found for refugees for farming.
- Refugees would receive resettlement packages, which contained food, tools, materials to build a house, and five acres of farming land (enough for a family of four).

## CONFLICTS

There were tensions between local villagers and resettled refugees, whose resettlement packages were worth almost four times the annual income of the average Cambodian family. Local villagers resented the refugees, who they felt had been given unfair economic advantages.

There were also problems in fulfilling the promises for land which UNTAC had made to the refugees. UNTAC had promised five acres of land to each Cambodian family. Since at least 60 percent of the refugees had been farmers before they fled Cambodia, this promise of land was a main reason for them to come back.

Unfortunately, there was trouble finding enough good land to give the refugees. Most of it was filled with mines, located in remote areas or battle zones, or was not fertile enough to farm. Therefore, the UN was unable to keep the original promises it had made to the refugees.

Many criticized the UN for the unrealistic promises it made to the refugees, many of whom had come back because of the promise of land. The UN was also criticized for trying to repatriate refugees before real peace and security had been achieved in Cambodia, since fighting between the four faction groups still continued.

## HOW CONFLICTS WERE HANDLED

UN officials recognized that the resettlement packages might cause tensions between refugees and local villagers, but insisted such assistance was necessary to help the refugees reintegrate into society. Since 50 percent of the refugees were school-age children who could not read or write, many refugees did not have the skills necessary to survive in Cambodia's war-torn conditions.

To solve the problem of land, the UN gave refugees cash instead. Food rations, a household plot, and employment were also options given in place of land, although most refugees chose money.

## LOOKING BACK

The repatriation component was considered a success. Despite this, critics said the program was overfunded. Over 360,000 refugees were repatriated in total, although many said they had been brought back under dangerous conditions.

## QUESTIONS TO ANSWER

Could UNTAC have handled the promises made to refugees better? If so, how?

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# UNTAC: REHABILITATION

## COMPONENT DESCRIPTION AND GOALS

*After more than 20 years of civil war, Cambodia was one of the poorest countries in the world. The country's infrastructure had been completely destroyed. Roads and bridges were in terrible condition, there was no telecommunication or education system, diseases were widespread, and very few Cambodians had access to drinking water. The goals of this component were:*

- Raise funding and coordinate rehabilitation projects, which would be carried out by organizations other than UNTAC.
- These projects included the repair and restoration of roads, highways, ports, railroads, and public utilities (such as water, waste disposal, electricity, telephone service, etc.). Other projects included agricultural development, education, health care, nutrition, and training Cambodians how to run these projects by themselves.

## CONFLICTS

UNTAC felt Cambodia's new government would have to govern the country by using the existing government structures of the four factions. Since UNTAC saw the State of Cambodia (SOC) faction as having the most stable administration, they concentrated on rehabilitating its structure over those of the other factions.

UNTAC also thought it should concentrate on rehabilitating Phnom Penh (which was the SOC's headquarters), since it would be the new government's capital city.

This component had a Technical Advisory Committee, which worked with the four factions to review and approve all rehabilitation projects in Cambodia. The Khmer Rouge refused to cooperate with the Committee and delayed its work, saying that most of the proposals favored the rebuilding of the Phnom Penh area. The Khmer Rouge did not agree with UNTAC's concentration on the rehabilitation of Phnom Penh, and thought UNTAC showed favoritism towards the SOC.

There were also conflicts with the countries who paid for Cambodia's rehabilitation projects. Some were reluctant to fund projects until after the elections, and only if the faction group they favored had been elected. Others wanted to fund mostly city projects, while ignoring small villages. As a result, UNTAC had problems controlling where rehabilitation money was spent and which faction it may have favored.

## HOW CONFLICTS WERE HANDLED

Akashi dismissed the Khmer Rouge's complaints and continued to raise money to rebuild Phnom Penh, which the UN felt was essential to helping Cambodia get back on its feet.

Akashi assured the Khmer Rouge that he would make sure the Technical Advisory Committee distributed the rehabilitation money equally and fairly between the four faction groups. But he stated that if the Khmer Rouge didn't allow the Committee to make its decisions freely, the Khmer Rouge would not receive any rehabilitation money at all.

## LOOKING BACK

While many rehabilitation projects were completed, most of them concentrated on urban areas. Development of rural villages and local employment was often neglected. The Khmer Rouge blocked the approval of some projects, and critics claim UNTAC was not forceful enough in getting their cooperation, nor in controlling where foreign countries' funding was spent.

## QUESTIONS TO ANSWER

Was UNTAC fair to the Khmer Rouge? Could UNTAC have handled the situation differently?

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# UNTAC: HUMAN RIGHTS

## COMPONENT DESCRIPTION AND GOALS

*During twenty years of civil war, Cambodia had suffered incredible human rights abuses. Many Cambodians had grown up not understanding that they had fundamental rights as citizens to be treated fairly and humanely, without torture, intimidation, unlawful arrest, etc. UNTAC wanted to educate Cambodians about their basic rights and to teach them how to organize and run a government in which these laws were respected. The goals of this component were:*

- Educate the public about the concept of human rights, through classes at schools and universities, training for government officials, television, radio, and pamphlets.
- Establish human rights groups in Cambodia and develop standard operating procedures for them to follow.
- Investigate human rights violations committed by each faction.
- Monitor prisons and negotiate for the release of political prisoners.

## CONFLICTS

There were many serious human rights violations which UNTAC investigated. These included the frequent killings of Vietnamese Cambodians by the Khmer Rouge, prisoner abuse, and murder, assault, and intimidation for political reasons. UNTAC lacked the power to prosecute those people who had committed human rights offenses. Because of this, UNTAC could not see many cases to their conclusion. Instead, UNTAC was instructed to leave the power to prosecute to the four individual factions.

But trusting the four factions to police themselves did not work. No corrective action was taken to punish these violations, such as arrest, prosecution of perpetrators, firing of non-compliant officials, or the public exposure and social stigmatization of the perpetrators.

## HOW CONFLICTS WERE HANDLED

This component chose to focus on "general institutional reform" rather than on penalizing individual human rights abusers or documenting violations. UNTAC wanted to concentrate on teaching Cambodians about their human rights, for long-term change. It claimed it had no legal authority to punish violators, which Akashi said was the responsibility of the four factions. However, UNTAC discovered the four faction groups had refused to take corrective action on any of their investigations, despite evidence to support them. As a result, UNTAC established a Special Prosecutor's Office. Through this office, and with the help of other components, UNTAC was able to arrest and detain offenders. But UNTAC could not prosecute these people, since there were no neutral Cambodian courts or an UNTAC judicial system set up to handle court cases.

## LOOKING BACK

The human rights component was a way to make the political situation in Cambodia equal, so that none of the factions could intimidate their political opponents. However, the component did not have enough staff to carry out all the work that needed to be done. In addition, the fact that UNTAC could not follow through on its human rights investigations with corrective actions limited how effective UNTAC was in its work.

## QUESTIONS TO ANSWER

How could human rights violation cases have been prosecuted? Could UNTAC have forced the factions to cooperate?

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# UNTAC Worksheet

**General Information**

1. What were some unusual characteristics about UNTAC?

2. How long did UNTAC last, and what were its seven components?

3. What were the four faction groups in Cambodia at the time of the Paris Agreements?

**Component Information**

4. What was the purpose of your component(s)? Why was it (were they) important?

5. Describe a conflict which your component(s) faced. How was it handled by UNTAC?

6. Do you think this was a successful or unsuccessful way of handling the conflict?

7. Answer the question(s) on your handout:

*Lesson 6*

# THE RUSSO–JAPANESE "NORTHERN TERRITORIES" DISPUTE

## Organizing Questions

- What are the sources of conflict in the "Northern Territories" disputed by Russia and Japan?
- What are the incentives for resolution of the conflict?
- How can conflict resolution or conflict management techniques be used to resolve territorial conflicts such as this one?

## Introduction

Students are presented with an enormous challenge in this lesson: How can they resolve a seemingly intractable dispute between Russia and Japan, a task in which diplomats, politicians, and business people alike have failed for the last five decades? Not only will they understand the political and historical facts concerning the issue, but through the use of role-playing, they will be drawn into a deeper comprehension of the nature of conflicts and the difficulties in resolving them. In short, they will be asked to understand international conflict from the inside out, acting the part of an individual participating in an international tribunal on the "Northern Territories" dispute.

First, the students will be given the historical background on the four islands in question and how they came to be a barrier to Russo–Japanese relations. Second, they will be asked to characterize four major perspectives on the issue: Japanese, Russian, U.S., and Ainu (the indigenous people of the area). They will then apply their knowledge of the issue in a simulated international tribunal. Finally, they will synthesize the knowledge and experience gained through a reflection at the end of the role-playing activity.

## Objectives

*knowledge*

- to summarize the historical events precipitating the "Northern Territories" dispute
- to comprehend the international political environment surrounding the dispute
- to discern the domestic interests which are preventing its resolution

*attitude*

- to appreciate the difficulties in resolving conflicts

# lesson six

*skill*

- to distinguish differing perspectives on difficult issues
- to synthesize facts from various time periods and points of view
- to create reasonable solutions to difficult conflicts

## Materials

- Handout #1: Background of the Dispute, one per 4–5 students (includes map showing the location of the "Northern Territories" in Northeast Asia)
- Information Sheet: President Pro Tempore, one copy
- Information Sheet: Tribunal Juror, one copy per each tribunal juror
- Handout #2: Treaty Proposal, four copies
- Handout #3: Presenting the Treaty, four copies
- Handout #4: Possible Solutions, one copy per each tribunal juror
- Transparency: Order of Proceedings
- Handout #5: Notes on Proceedings, one per student
- Handout #6: Reflection Questions, one per student
- Character Information Sheets #1–20, one copy each

There is considerable debate between Russia and Japan as to the proper term for the four islands in dispute. The Japanese use the term "Northern Territories" while the Russians use "Southern Kuriles." It appears that "Northern Territories" is the more widely accepted term and we shall use it here except in the Russian delegation character information sheets provided in this lesson. "Northern Territories" and "Southern Kuriles" will always appear in quotation marks to acknowledge the disagreement.

## Procedure—Part 1: Setting the Context

1. Begin by focusing the class's attention on the issue of conflict. Here are two questions which may be helpful:

- When did World War II officially end? (The truth is that for Japan and Russia it still has not formally ended.)
- What do you think is the most divisive conflict in the world today? Why is it so divisive? (Encourage students to think about both political and social conflicts.)

  The students should consider the effect of historical legacies and cultural perceptions on the conflicts mentioned.

2. Divide the students into groups of 4–5 students. These will not be the same as their "delegation" groups later. Distribute one copy of Handout #1, Background of the Dispute, to each group.

Have them read through the history of the conflict, answering the analysis questions at the end. A map showing the location of the "Northern Territories" is included with the handout.

3. Bring the students' attention back to the large group and discuss the analysis questions on Handout #1.

4. Assign students to either one of the delegations (Russian, Japanese, U.S., or Ainu), to the role of a tribunal juror, or to the role of president pro tempore. Distribute the appropriate Character Information Sheets, #1–20, to students in the delegations, the Tribunal Juror information sheet to each tribunal juror, and the President Pro Tempore information sheet to the president pro tempore. You may want to consider the following functions before assigning the roles:

- The delegation "politicians" will be doing the public speaking for their delegations.
- The delegation "diplomats" will be assigned the main task of writing the delegations' final proposals.
- The president pro tempore of the tribunal will be facilitating the proceedings so will need to be well respected by his/her peers.

The students will need to read their information sheets for part 2 of this lesson and may want to do individual research on their own. Encourage them to create their own "character notes" such as making up a name, where they live, their family history, what their hobbies are, etc.

## Procedure—Part 2: Róle Play Preparation

1. It is important that you set some ground rules for the role play and give a few caveats:

- The purpose of the role play is for each of you to understand various perspectives on the issue, perspectives that may differ from your own. By playing a certain role, you are not necessarily agreeing with that position. This means that while you are encouraged to "get into" your part, everyone needs to recognize that these are not the opinions of their peers, but only of the part they are playing. Do not make personal derogatory statements.
- All the characters in the role play are meant to be representations of some possible backgrounds and opinions of people involved in the dispute. Of course, these opinions are only generalizations. The actual range of positions on the issue varies considerably from person to person. Thus, not all Russians are "nationalists" nor are all Ainu "environmentalists."
- Part of the goal of this role play is to put you into a position of conflict. This issue has been chosen precisely because it is so contentious. You should not be afraid to have disagreements; but, it is vital to the process that your opinions be expressed with the utmost respect towards the other participants.

2. Divide the class into their groups for the role play. Distribute one copy of Handout #2, Treaty Proposal, to the Russian, Japanese, U.S., and Ainu delegations; one copy of Handout #3, Presenting the Treaty, to the politicians of each delegation; and one copy of Handout #4, Possible Solutions, to each tribunal juror member. From this point on, the students should begin playing the part of the individual assigned. Have the students begin by introducing themselves to the other members of their delegation. Here they may be as creative as they like, telling stories about their "lives" and how they were chosen to be a delegate.

- *For the students in the Russian, Japanese, U.S., or Ainu delegations:* They should each share their viewpoints on the issue and begin looking for some common ground. This may be the most difficult part of the role play. Although consensus is always the best method, at some point they may need to simply vote on some of the specific points. Each delegation should write a concrete treaty proposal to be presented at the tribunal proceedings in part 3 of this lesson. Remind the politicians that it is their responsibility to present the proposals.
- *For the tribunal members:* First, they should take a few minutes to discuss the role of the tribunal members, making sure to emphasize their importance to the process and the necessity of being objective. Also, again point out some of the differences with this format as opposed to a court of law. Then, discuss the "possible solutions" listed on Handout #4. It might be easier if at first they divide into smaller groups of students. They should read through each of the listed solutions and discuss the questions listed on the second page of the handout. If time permits, you could have them reconvene in their larger group and have them share ideas for possible solutions.
- *For the president pro tempore:* The president pro tempore of the tribunal will be required not only to manage the logistics of the proceedings, but also to introduce and conclude them as well. This is a very important role because he/she will create the proper atmosphere in the courtroom through these speeches.

## Procedure—Part 3: Role Play

1. Using the Transparency, Order of Proceedings, explain the order of the proceedings for day 1 to the students. Also, distribute copies of Handout #5, Notes on Proceedings worksheet, to students to help them organize the different positions presented.

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- Introduction by the President Pro Tempore (3 minutes)
- Opening Statements and Proposals by Each Delegation (5 minutes each)

  —Russian
  —Japanese
  —U.S.
  —Ainu
- Rebuttal by Each Delegation (3 minutes each)

  The 3-minute rebuttal may include comments about other proposals, or questions about possible points of compromise.
- Questions by Tribunal Jurors (5 minutes)

  The primary purpose of this is for jurors to be able to find out in what areas the different delegations would be willing to compromise.
- Open Discussion (10 minutes)

  The president pro tempore can recognize individual members of the delegation for up to one minute each, for purposes of questions and clarification.
- Adjournment

2. Homework for part 4 can include:

- The tribunal jurors, using their notes taken on Handout #5, Notes on Proceedings, should write a final proposal (described on Handout #2, Treaty Proposal) to be discussed the next day.
- The president pro tempore should prepare concluding remarks (described on the President Pro Tempore's information sheet).
- Each delegation group should prepare a final statement of five minutes to be presented at the tribunal in part 4 of this lesson.

## Procedure—Part 4: Role Play

1. Using the Transparency, Order of Proceedings, explain the order of the proceedings for day 2 to the students.

- The President Pro Tempore Should Reconvene the Proceedings
- Final Statements (5 minutes each)

  —Russian
  —Japanese
  —U.S.
  —Ainu
- Deliberation (20 minutes)

The students in delegations may now drop out of character and sit together in a large group. Sit with them and lead them in a group discussion, using Handout #6, Reflection Questions.

The tribunal jurors and president pro tempore should remain in character and discuss the merits of each delegation's case. The president pro tempore should lead the discussion, but is not allowed to vote. The tribunal jurors must render a decision by the end of the time allotted. Once again, although consensus is the preferred method, there may simply have to be a vote to decide the best method. Remind the tribunal jurors that they should include their reasoning behind the decision.

- Rendering of Decision (5 minutes)

  The president pro tempore reconvenes the tribunal one last time for the purpose of rendering the decision. He/she reads the final decision by the tribunal aloud to the participants.

- Concluding Remarks (5 minutes)

  The president pro tempore then reads his/her concluding remarks and closes the proceedings.

- Adjournment

2. A wrap-up discussion after the tribunal jury has made its decision may be appropriate. The students may have many questions for each other or for you. Here are some suggested questions:
   - What was it like for everybody working within their delegation or on the tribunal? Did you find that you were able to reach a consensus easily? What was the hardest part of the negotiations?
   - (To the tribunal members) Why did you decide the way that you did? What were the most convincing arguments for you?
   - (To the delegation members) What was your strategy during the negotiations? Why did you choose such a strategy?
   - (To the president pro tempore) What was the most challenging aspect of your role?
   - After participating in this role play, what do you think are the prospects for Russia and Japan to actually resolve this dispute? Are there limitations in the "real world" that they experience, which you did not here?

## Assessment Ideas

Have students write a summary of the Russo–Japanese "Northern Territories" dispute in two or three paragraphs. You may want to consider inclusion of important events, use of key facts, historical accuracy, and clarity of the summary.

Have each student assume the role of a newspaper editor from one of the following hypothetical newspapers: *Tokyo Political News, Moscow Morning Tribune, U.S. Foreign Affairs Bulletin,* or *Ainu Community Daily News.* Have each student select a newspaper and write an editorial on the international tribunal. Use the editorials to determine how well students draw upon their

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newly acquired knowledge and perspectives related to the Russo–Japanese "Northern Territories" dispute. How persuasive are their comments and/or points of view?

**Policy Study Reference**

*Change and Renewal: The United States–Japan Security Relationship into the 21st Century,* A Conference Report. Co-sponsored by Japan Institute of International Affairs and Pacific Forum, Center for Strategic and International Studies. April 1996.

# BACKGROUND OF THE DISPUTE

## Introduction

The "Northern Territories," four small islands just north of Japan, are the center of a controversy so divisive that Russia and Japan have yet to sign a treaty officially ending World War II because of them. Both countries make historical and legal claims to the ownership of the islands, based on a series of treaties dating back to 1855. Although Russia presently occupies them, so far neither country has given up its "territorial sovereignty" over them and Japan has consistently demanded their return.

With a present population of 23,000 on an area of just 5,000 square kilometers, what could be the source of the conflict? Gold? Oil? Minerals? Unfortunately, most scholars on the issue agree that none of these are significant. The real reason: pride and politics. Giving up the islands represents for the Russian people one in a line of territories threatening to fall like dominoes from the Russian Federation. For the Japanese, the islands are perhaps the last straw of humiliation heaped upon them in retribution for World War II.

## Geography

Stretching southward from the Kamchatka Peninsula is an archipelago known as the Kurile Islands (Kuril in Russian, Chishima in Japanese). But, just north of one of Japan's four main islands, Hokkaido, there are four smaller islands known to the Japanese as the "Northern Territories": Habomai,* Shikotan, Kunashiri, and Etorofu. The Russians, however, consider them to be part of the Kuriles, which they believe were given to them through treaties with Japan. They call the four islands the "Southern Kuriles." It is the question of the ownership of these four islands which is the major cause of the long-standing dispute between the two countries.

As mentioned earlier, the islands have but a small amount of economic value for either country. There is a relatively large canning factory on one of them with over 1,200 employees and the commercial fishing that is done around the islands is significant. The islands have in the past had some military importance as well, but that has diminished since the end of the Cold War.

## History of the Northern Territories

The whole chain of islands, both the Kuriles and what the Japanese call the "Northern Territories," were originally occupied by the Ainu, an indigenous people in the region.

It wasn't until the 1700s that Japanese and Russian explorers started venturing out to the islands and claiming sovereignty over

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* Habomai is actually a small collection of islands itself. They are sometimes referred to as the Habomais.

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them. *The following is a brief explanation of the important events in the history of the "Northern Territories," which will be essential as you attempt to write your own treaty later. Japanese, Russian, Russian/Soviet, and/or U.S. perspectives will be given on these events.*

### Shimoda Treaty of 1855

This treaty became known as the "Treaty of Friendship, Commerce, and Navigation" and generally established friendly relations between Japan and Russia.

Treaty excerpt: "Henceforth the boundaries between Russia and Japan will pass between the Islands of Etorofu and Uruppu."

On the surface, the treaty seems to settle the dispute easily: the four islands known as the "Northern Territories" were given to Japan and the other islands in the archipelago were given to Russia. But the issue is not so simple, because of events that occurred after this treaty.

**Russian perspective:** Japan broke this treaty in 1904 when it attacked Russia, beginning the Russo–Japanese War. This is not an act of a "friend" and therefore the treaty is no longer valid. Also, when the U.S.S.R. agreed to join the war against Japan in 1945 (the Yalta Agreement), it was promised the "Kurile Islands" by Britain and the United States. To the Russians, this means the entire chain, including what the Japanese call the "Northern Territories."

**Japanese perspective:** Naturally, the Japanese government feels that this treaty clearly says the "Northern Territories" belong to Japan. Also, for Japan the "Northern Territories" have never been part of the "Kuriles" and besides, they did not sign the Yalta Agreement (1945).

### St. Petersburg Treaty of 1875

This treaty was also known as the Sakhalin–Kurile Islands Exchange Treaty and attempted to clarify territorial disputes between Russia and Japan.

Treaty excerpt: "The Emperor of Russia cedes to the Emperor of Japan the group of the Kurile Islands which he possesses at present ...this group comprises the eighteen islands from Shamus (the first island south of Kamchatka Peninsula) to Uruppu."

**Russian perspective:** This treaty was broken by the Japanese in 1904 with the attack of Manchuria. Also, the Japanese gave the islands back in the San Francisco Treaty (1951).

**Japanese perspective:** The treaty very clearly gives ALL the Kurile Islands to them (even though they are not actually asking for all of them) and the language of the treaty implies that there has always been a distinction between the "Kuriles" and the "Northern Territories." Also, since the Russians did not sign the San Francisco Treaty, they cannot use it to support their position.

# handout #1

**Treaty of Portsmouth, 1905**

This treaty concluded the Russo–Japanese War that began in 1904. Japanese naval forces mounted an attack on Port Arthur (Lushun, in Chinese) in southern Manchuria. They eventually defeated the Russians, gaining interests in Korea and other areas of East Asia. The entire chain of islands, including the "Northern Territories," were reaffirmed as belonging to Japan.

**Russian Perspective:** The war was an act of treachery by the Japanese, and the provisions of the treaty were "forced" upon Russia. They believe that Japan's attack broke the previous treaties it had signed with Russia.

**Japanese Perspective:** Japan was only defending its interests in Manchuria and Korea when it attacked. The treaty confirms that the "Northern Territories" have always belonged to Japan.

**Yalta Agreement, February 1945**

Roosevelt (United States), Churchill (United Kingdom), and Stalin (Soviet Union) held a conference where they pledged "unity of purpose and action" concerning the end of the war. This became known as the Yalta Agreement. Stalin agreed to join the war against Japan, on the condition that it could get back some of the territory, including the Kuriles, that it lost previously. The week after Japan surrendered to the Allies on August 14th, the Soviet Army captured the Kuriles and the four islands known to Japan as the "Northern Territories."

Treaty excerpt: "The leaders of the three great powers [United States, United Kingdom, Soviet Union] have agreed that the Soviet Union shall enter the war against Japan on the side of the Allies on condition that ...the former rights of Russia violated by the treacherous attack of Japan in 1904 shall be restored [and] the Kurile Islands shall be handed over to the Soviet Union."

**Russian/Soviet Perspective:** As one of the victors in the war, they got to help dictate what the boundaries would be after the war. Since the islands were taken through "treachery," they felt justified in taking them back after World War II.

**Japanese Perspective:** It is the Soviets who were treacherous in this case. After all, Japan had signed a non-aggression pact with the U.S.S.R. in 1941, which was broken by the Soviets at Yalta and when they subsequently invaded the "Northern Territories." For almost a hundred years the "Northern Territories" had belonged to Japan.

**Potsdam Declaration, July 1945**

The Potsdam Declaration defined the terms for the Japanese surrender, and was based in part on the November 1943 Cairo Declaration. The Cairo Declaration was the first public outline of the Allies' post-World War II plans for territories occupied by Japan.

Treaty excerpt: "The terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out and Japanese sovereignty shall be limited to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, and Shikoku, and such minor islands as we determine..." The Cairo Declaration declared, "The three Great Allies are fighting this war to restrain and punish the aggression of Japan. They covet no gain for themselves and have no thought of territorial expansion. It is their purpose that Japan shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the First World War in 1914 . . . Japan shall also be expelled from all the other territories which she has taken by violence and greed."

**Russian/Soviet Perspective:** The case is really very simple: Japan was an aggressor in World War II and deserved to be punished; the "Kurile Islands" (including the "Northern Territories") were taken by violence; therefore, Stalin had every right to invade the islands and take them back.

**Japanese Perspective:** Also very simple: The "Northern Territories" have always been a part of Japan and were not taken by aggression; the Allies promised not to expand their territory in the Cairo Declaration; the Soviets were clearly wrong in invading the Kuriles and "Northern Territories," and should give back at least the four islands that comprise the "Northern Territories."

## San Francisco Treaty of 1951

The San Francisco Treaty was a treaty of peace signed by Japan and 48 other nations. The peace treaty formally ended the state of war between Japan and most of the Allied powers. Russia, however, did not sign the treaty.

Treaty excerpt: "Japan renounces all right, title, and claim to the Kurile Islands."

The language of this treaty is troublesome because although it says that Japan gives up the "Kurile Islands," nowhere does it define exactly what is meant by the Kurile Islands. Also, although it does say that Japan will give them up, it never says to whom they will give them. Moreover, the Soviet Union did not sign the treaty, probably because of this vague language. The treaty says that it only applies to those who have signed it.

**Russian/Soviet Perspective:** Although Russia did not sign the treaty, it is quite clear that Japan is giving up the Kuriles (which include the "Northern Territories"). Russia is the only other logical owner of these islands, and therefore has a right to keep them.

**Japanese Perspective:** They only gave up the "Kuriles" and not the "Northern Territories" which have always been a part of Japan. Russia cannot use this treaty to justify its claims on the islands because it did not sign the treaty and the "Kuriles" do not include the "Northern Territories."

## The Cold War

In the 1950s there were a number of opportunities for the settlement of the issue, especially the 1956 Joint Declaration. Although political pressure and domestic politics were barriers to the resolution of the conflict, some progress was made, and in 1956 Japan and Russia resumed diplomatic relations, although they did not formally end World War II. But in the end, Cold War ideology and military strategy created more obstacles than opportunities for the resolution of the conflict.

**Russian/Soviet Perspective:** They saw an opportunity to weaken the U.S.'s position in the Pacific by concluding a peace treaty with Japan and trying to push the U.S. military out of its bases there. But, when it saw in 1960 that the United States was going to remain in Japan, it hardened its position. The islands were key militarily because they helped to protect the Soviet Union's nuclear submarines in the Sea of Okhotsk. The Soviets sent thousands of troops to the islands and stationed a squadron of MIG fighters in the "Northern Territories."

**Japanese Perspective:** Although the Japanese recognized the value of resolving the "Northern Territories" issue, for some people there was more incentive for them to keep the issue unresolved. A Soviet military threat from the islands justified the U.S.–Japan Security Alliance and also made it easier to get funding for Japan's own Self-Defense Force. The "Northern Territories" dispute also reinforced anti-communist sentiment in Japan and reminded the Japanese how "dishonest" the Soviets were.

**U.S. Perspective:** Japan was the U.S.'s "anchor" in East Asia against the "communist threat." China had fallen to the communists and the Soviets gradually expanded their influence in Asia in Vietnam and North Korea. The United States could not afford any "thaw" in relations between Japan and Russia. In addition, the U.S. military knew the military and strategic importance of the islands. The U.S. government then pushed for a "hard-line" position on the islands in Japan.

## Recent History (1991–Present)

With the break-up of the Soviet Union, the end of the Cold War, and the rise of the United States as the world's only superpower, there seemed to be a new opportunity for resolving the conflict. Still, up to now there is no agreement on the issue.

### INCENTIVES FOR RESOLVING THE CONFLICT

Russia:

- Russia needs significant amounts of foreign investment, especially in its "Far Eastern" region. Although other Western countries have given economic development aid, Japan has lagged far behind. More importantly, Japan could greatly help the development of the region by encouraging its large-scale business activities to start operations in the area.

- Russia also in general wants political stability in the region. It needs to secure friendships so that it can concentrate on its economic development, instead of a costly military buildup. Japan, being such a close neighbor, is vital to that stability.
- Since Japan is a key economic power in the world, if Russia had closer relations with it, it could support Russia's entrance into the World Trade Organization and other international institutions.

Japan:

- Japanese businesses see that Russia has huge natural resources, such as petroleum and natural gas, that are largely underdeveloped. Joint venture companies could be set up with Japanese firms taking the lead in processing these resources and selling them on world markets.
- Russian nationalism has increased in recent years, in part because of economic problems. Japan, especially considering the long history of tension between the two countries, has fears about the effects of nationalism in Russia. So, any agreement that could encourage peaceful relations between the two countries is desirable. Also, the economic development of Russia could also help reduce these nationalistic tendencies.
- Japan wants to begin playing a larger role in international diplomacy and politics. A final peace treaty with Russia and improved relations could bring Japan greater credibility as a leader in the Pacific region.

United States:

- The United States, like Japan, fears Russian nationalism and the nightmare of Russia retrenching into Cold War positions again. So, a peaceful diplomatic solution to the "Northern Territories" dispute helps allay these fears.
- The U.S. government is eager for Japan to share in the cost of economic aid to the former Soviet republics. Japan is reluctant to do so until a final solution is reached.
- The United States wants to encourage Russia's involvement in the international community. This will not be easily accomplished as long as there is a contentious relationship between Japan and Russia.

PERSISTENT BARRIERS

Despite these incentives, there remain significant barriers to the resolution of the dispute. In the early 1990s, the president of Russia, Boris Yeltsin, twice suddenly canceled talks on the issue, bowing to domestic pressure. In 1993–94 increased conflict in the disputed territory occurred, including the shooting at, arresting of, and detaining of Japanese fishermen. Public opinion in Japan grew increasingly negative towards the Russians as a result, and the Japanese government followed a similar hard line. The following can be seen as the current barriers to settlement of the issue:

- Historic and Cultural: Probably the biggest obstacle to be overcome by the two countries is the historic animosity between them. For Japan, it still mistrusts Russia because of World War II and the legacy of the Cold War. What is perceived as a long line of broken promises and boorish negotiating behavior still weighs heavily on the minds of some Japanese. Public opinion polls in Japan still list Russia as one of the most feared and mistrusted countries.

  For the Russians, the issues are not much different. They are highly suspicious of the Japanese and have long memories about conflicts before World War II.

  These cultural stereotypes are by no means true for all Russians or Japanese. But, unfortunately, they are easily exploited on both sides for political reasons.

- Political: For both countries, the reluctance to compromise on the issue is primarily from a lack of political will. In Russia, the increased nationalism in recent years is manifested in the government's rigidity on the "Southern Kuriles" dispute. It has become an emotional issue for many Russians, and resistance to "giving away" another piece of the former empire is strong.

  In Japan, there has been less fundamental change in perceptions since the end of the Cold War than there has been in Europe and the United States. Sympathy towards the problems of political and economic reform in the former Soviet Union and Eastern European countries does not run deep. Issues in Asian security are still delicately balanced among Japan, the United States, China, and Russia. Moreover, Asia has seen little of the demilitarization that Eastern Europe has. Many Japanese seek Russian flexibility on the issue as a sign of goodwill.

  Despite these persistent barriers, there have been significant efforts at improving relations between the countries. Most importantly, there has been much progress in economic cooperation and citizen exchanges. In fact, there have been dozens of visits of Japanese citizens to the "Northern Territories" in recent years, as well as reciprocal visits to Japan by the ethnic Russians and Ukrainians living on the islands. Moreover, both sides publicly acknowledge the need to solve the dispute peacefully.

## CURRENT RESIDENTS' PERSPECTIVE

After the Soviets took control of the islands in 1945, ethnic Russians and Ukrainians began to migrate to the area. Most of the people are engaged in fishing or fishing-related industries, such as canning. Since they have lived and settled on the islands for many years now, they have developed strong roots to the islands. They are of course adamant that their rights of residence on the

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islands and economic livelihood not be adversely affected by the resolution of the dispute between Russia and Japan.

Despite their ethnic backgrounds and Russian citizenship, not all of the residents support the Russian government's position. In fact, probably for economic reasons, some of the residents are in favor of the control of the "Northern Territories" being given to the Japanese. As with the other parties in the dispute, the current residents' perspective is extremely complicated. It is, however, one which is essential to keep in mind.

## THE AINU PERSPECTIVE

The original inhabitants of Hokkaido (northernmost of the four main islands of Japan), Sakhalin, and the Kuriles were the Ainu, who first settled in Hokkaido more than 7,000 years ago. In fact, the term "Kurile" comes from the Ainu word "kur," which means "man." The Ainu then migrated to the Kuriles in about 1,000 A.D. These long historical ties give them a much different perspective on the dispute from the others presented here. The Ainu are an indigenous people whose traditional lifestyle is similar to some Native American people: The culture was supported by hunting, fishing, and gathering. The Ainu lived along riverbanks and game trails mostly in small villages of up to twenty thatched dwellings. Their religion had many important gods, including the bear, the owl, and the whale.

The Ainu were treated as aliens by the Japanese, and their population was reduced by a series of territorial battles with the Japanese and the onslaught of new diseases, including small pox. In the late 1700s, the Japanese government instituted a series of measures to force the Ainu to assimilate into Japanese society. These included forcing them to intermarry with ethnic Japanese, outlawing traditional ceremonies, and ordering them to adapt to Japanese styles of dress, manners, and ethics. A century later, the Ainu were required to take Japanese names and register with the government as Japanese subjects. Most of the Ainu were deported from the "Northern Territories" to Hokkaido before World War II by the Japanese government. There now exist about 25,000 people on Hokkaido who claim Ainu ancestry.

Although most Ainu are now integrated into Japanese culture, many still list in their grievances with the Japanese government the annexation of the islands during the 19th century. For most Ainu, a positive resolution to the "Northern Territories" dispute with Russia would need to take into account their ethnic history on the islands.

## *Analysis Questions*

1. What is the distinction between the "Northern Territories" and the "Southern Kuriles"?

# handout #1

2. According to the Russians, what kinds of actions could invalidate a treaty?

3. How is the Yalta Agreement important for the "Northern Territories" dispute?

4. How does the Cairo Declaration support the Japanese case on the dispute? What assumption about the "Northern Territories" must be made for this argument to be valid?

5. During the Cold War, the United States and Japan each had separate incentives for keeping the "Northern Territories" dispute unresolved. What were they?

6. What role could economics play in the resolution on the issue of sovereignty of the "Northern Territories"?

7. If the Cold War was such a barrier to solving the question of ownership of the "Northern Territories," why is it that there is still no solution?

8. Some scholars argue that although there are many agreements and treaties signed between the two countries, in the end the solution must be political, not legal. Do you agree? Explain.

9. Both Russia and Japan claim that the other side has willfully reneged on agreements signed between the two. Assuming that this claim is true, comment on its implications for the enforcement of international law.

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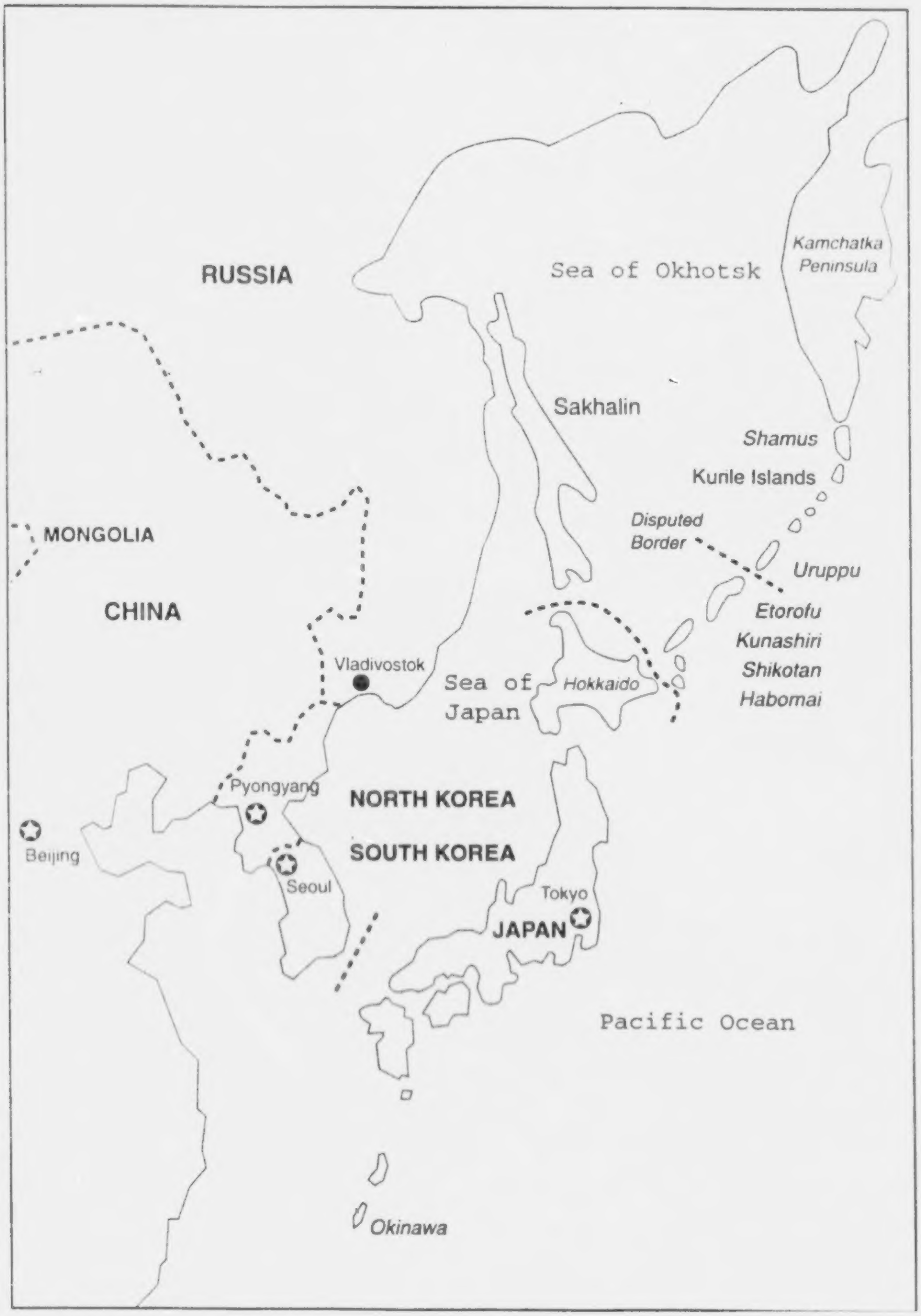
# LOCATION OF DISPUTED TERRITORIES IN NORTHEAST ASIA


RUSSIA
Sea of Okhotsk
Kamchatka Peninsula
Sakhalin
Shamus
Kurile Islands
Disputed Border
Uruppu
MONGOLIA
CHINA
Etorofu
Kunashiri
Shikotan
Habomai
Vladivostok
Sea of Japan
Hokkaido
Pyongyang
NORTH KOREA
SOUTH KOREA
Beijing
Seoul
Tokyo
JAPAN
Pacific Ocean
Okinawa

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# PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

Student Name:

Character Name:

## Role

You have been given one of the most difficult jobs of the entire group. You have to manage the proceedings, making sure that each side has a chance to be heard, but regulating the duration of each response. It is also your responsibility to make sure that each delegate follows proper etiquette for an international tribunal and shows respect for the fellow participants. You will also be in charge of the jury deliberations as well—leading the discussions, soliciting ideas, and calling for the final vote, when necessary.

It is not your role to help make decisions. In fact, you will not be allowed to vote. You must stay as impartial as possible, keeping your personal opinions to yourself.

In general, your role in the proceedings can be summarized as follows:

- Writing a brief introduction (described on the next page) to the proceedings, highlighting the importance of settlement of the issues for peace in the region.
- Managing the proceedings—recognizing the speakers at appropriate times, keeping track of the time allotted to each group, etc.
- Leading the deliberations among the other tribunal members.
- Maintaining decorum in the courtroom.
- Writing concluding remarks (described on the next page) for the end of the tribunal.

## Character Notes

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## The Introduction

This will occur at the very beginning of the proceedings. You should first begin by stating something like the following: "For the purpose of creating a lasting peace between the countries of Russia and Japan and for final determination of the territorial dispute between said countries, on this the ____ day of ______, 19____, I hereby call this tribunal to order." Following this opening statement you should read a short speech outlining the following:

- Why the proceedings are necessary
- What the final goal of the proceedings should be (avoiding making specific proposals about the settlement)
- The importance of the outcome on world peace and prosperity
- Your expectations about the behavior of the participants

## Concluding Remarks

This will come at the very end of the proceedings, after the tribunal members have given their decision. In some ways this will be the more difficult of the two speeches. Limit the time to three minutes.

- It will have to be prepared before you know the final decision of the tribunal.
- You have to somehow create a positive, respectful environment even though the debates may have been quite contentious.
- Its purpose is both to summarize the progress of the tribunal in general terms and to "charge" the participants to abide by the agreement for the sake of world peace.

# TRIBUNAL JUROR

Student Name:

Character Name:

## Task

Congratulations! Because of your well-known sense of justice and fairness, as well as your keen intelligence, you have been given the honor of serving on an international tribunal that will finally decide the fate of the "Northern Territories," claimed by both Japan and Russia. Because of the grave importance of this decision, you must approach your duty with an open mind, being careful not to prejudice your decision with propaganda or preconceived ideas about the disputants.

When making your decision, you should keep in mind the following criteria:

- Is the claim valid and just?
- If enacted, what effect will this claim have on the well-being of the people and the environment of the island?
- What are the international political consequences of the claim?

It should be noted that your role on this tribunal is different from that of a jury member in a court case. First of all, you are not primarily concerned with guilt or innocence, although different delegates may claim to have been wronged. You are concerned with creating a workable solution to a very complicated problem. Certainly, legal arguments must be considered, but it is also possible that some kind of political solution may be feasible which is not based on international law.

Secondly, you should not perceive yourself as a "distant observer" as a juror would. In fact, you are encouraged to interact with other members of the delegation. But you must at all times maintain your objectivity on the matter and in the end make your decision solely on the basis of your reasoned judgment.

Finally, although you may certainly be unintentionally influenced by the form and style of the arguments, you should NOT make your judgment on the basis of how well the case was presented. You are not grading a speech here, but rather rendering a judgment on a legal and political matter.

## Character Notes

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# TREATY PROPOSAL

You are required to write a treaty proposal, which may be accepted by the tribunal in its entirety or only as part of another proposal. The peace treaty that you will propose will need to be written in legal language as formal as possible, with special concern placed on the precise meanings of the words chosen. In general, legal documents of this sort contain the following parts:

| | |
|---|---|
| Introduction | This is an opening statement, describing the general purpose of the treaty and introducing the participants. |
| Article I | This is usually very short, simply agreeing to have peace between the parties involved. |
| Article II | Normally, this is the part of the proposal that lists the grievances of a certain party or the general reasoning behind your final resolution. Note that the *reasons* are given in Article II whereas the actual *stipulations* are given in Article III. |
| Article III (or more) | This is the most important part of the treaty, in a sense the "meat" of what you want to say. This is where you describe the details of your proposal, what transactions will take place, when events will occur and how they will be enforced. Additional articles may be added as well. |
| Article IV (or last) | Your treaty should end with a few more platitudes, the date the treaty will be signed, a place for the signatures, and any concluding remarks. |
| Amendments | If there are some minor revisions that need to be made, they can sometimes be added on the end with a "Supplementary Agreement" or "Amendments." |

The following example is taken from the original Portsmouth Peace Treaty, negotiated by Theodore Roosevelt and signed by Russia and Japan in 1905, concluding the Russo–Japanese War.

## TREATY OF PORTSMOUTH
**Portsmouth, September 5, 1905**

His majesty the Emperor of Japan on the one part, and His majesty the Emperor of all the Russias on the other part, animated by the desire to restore the blessings of peace to their countries and peoples, have resolved to conclude a treaty of peace, and have, for this purpose, named their plenipotentiaries,* that is to say:

His excellency Baron Komura Jutaro, His excellency M. Takahira Kogoro . . . who, after having exchanged their full powers, which were found to be in good and due form, have concluded the following articles:

### Article I

There shall henceforth be peace and amity between their majesties the Emperor of Japan and the Emperor of All the Russias and between their respective states and subjects.

### Article II

The Imperial Russian Government, acknowledging that Japan possesses in Korea paramount political, military, and economical interests, engages neither to obstruct nor interfere with the measures of guidance, protection, and control which the Imperial Government may find it necessary to take in Korea.

### Article III

Japan and Russia mutually agree:

1. To evacuate completely and simultaneously Manchuria, except the territory affected by the lease of the Liao-tung peninsula . . .
2. To restore entirely and completely to the exclusive administration of China all portions of Manchuria now in the occupation or under the control of the Japanese or Russian troops . . .

### Article IV

In witness whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed and affixed their seals to the present treaty of peace.

Done at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, this the fifth day of the ninth month of the thirty-eighth year of Meiji, corresponding to the twenty-third day of August, one thousand nine hundred and five.

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* People, especially diplomatic agents, invested with full power to transact business.

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**handout #3**

# PRESENTING THE TREATY

As a politician, you have been given the difficult task of presenting your delegation's proposal to the tribunal. In many ways this can be seen as the most important task in the process. An outstanding treaty is useless to your delegation's goals if it is not convincingly presented to the tribunal. You must, in a sense, be a bridge between the formal treaty language and the words which will be effective in persuading others to your point of view. As a career politician, this is the kind of situation in which you excel. But you must prepare well for this speech, for it is probably the most important one of your life.

The following are some guidelines for your presentation:

- Remember that you have a total of only five minutes for your presentation.
- Part of your time should be reserved for simply reading the treaty proposal that your delegation has written. But your presentation should be much more than this. You need to explain the reasoning behind your proposal and issue an emotional appeal to the tribunal for its acceptance.
- Practice your speech many times before you present it. If you simply read a prepared text, you will be doing little to help your cause. The best way is to refer briefly to prepared note cards when giving the speech.
- Think carefully about the words you use. Rather than using the technical language of the treaty, you should choose words that are evocative, colorful, and persuasive. The best public speakers are able to "paint a picture" with words. One of your most powerful tools will be the use of imagery.
- Be sure to end your speech with an appeal to the tribunal members for their acceptance of your proposal. Your last sentence should be the most persuasive of your entire speech.

# handout #4

## POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

The following is a list of actual proposed solutions to the "Northern Territories" dispute. As you read them, consider the merits of each one, based on its political, economic, legal, social, and environmental ramifications. Also, discuss the questions on the next page.

| | |
|---|---|
| The "Status Quo" Approach | Under this scenario, the Russian government would keep all rights of sovereignty and territoriality over the islands. This decision could be based on the belief that the Russian legal claims are valid; that the dispute is intractable and because there is no other reasonable solution, Russian sovereignty is maintained; or that under the principles of "self-determination," the people of the territories choose to stay with Russia. |
| "Transfer to Japan" Approach | Under this proposal, the Japanese government would be given all rights of sovereignty and territoriality over the islands. This decision could be based on the belief that Japan's legal and historical claims are correct; or that under the principles of "self-determination," the people of the territories choose to be ruled by Japan. |
| The "Split" Approach | Under this kind of agreement, a number of the islands, most likely Shikotan and Habomai, which are closest to Hokkaido (the northernmost of Japan's four main islands), would be given back to Japan, while the other two, Etorofu and Kunashiri, would remain part of Russia. This approach has appeal to some people because while the two islands given to Japan have a considerably large fishing zone around them, they make up only a small portion of the total territory of the "Northern Territories," i.e., 8 percent. This might appeal to the Russian side as well. |
| The "Split and Wait" Approach | This is similar to the previous proposal, except that while the closest two islands would be given immediately to Japan, a final decision would be postponed on the status of the other two until a later date. Thus, a peace treaty could be signed on the basis of "agreeing to disagree." |
| The "Future Generations" Approach | Russia concedes ultimate sovereignty over the disputed islands to Japan at the level of principle. The transition, however, plays out over a number of years. |
| The "DMZ" Approach | The four islands could be split between the two countries with the added stipulation that they would become a demilitarized zone under the supervision of the United Nations. |

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| | |
|---|---|
| The "Ainu" Approach | Give the islands back to the Ainu, who were the original inhabitants, demilitarize the islands, and turn them into a huge nature preserve. The current residents could remain, of course, and special considerations concerning their livelihood would have to be made. |
| The "Buy-Out" Approach | Japan could purchase the sovereignty rights to the islands at a price acceptable to Russia. The islands would then be under the complete control of Japan. |

Of course, these are not meant to be an exhaustive list of possibilities. There could be many variations on these solutions or completely new ones created.

For each of the solutions listed, discuss the following questions:

1. Is the solution in accordance with the series of treaties signed between Russia and Japan? Why or why not?
2. What effect will the proposed solution have upon the domestic political situation in both Japan and Russia?
3. What effects could the proposed solution have upon the current international political arena?
4. Are there any humanitarian or environmental implications for the plan?
5. Which of the solutions do you think has the most solid legal foundation? Explain your legal reasoning.
6. Which solution is most politically workable? Explain.
7. Besides those listed, can you think of other workable solutions to the issue?

## transparency

# ORDER OF PROCEEDINGS

Day 1

- Introduction by the President Pro Tempore (3 minutes)
- Opening Statements and Proposals by Each Delegation (5 minutes each)
  - —Russian
  - —Japanese
  - —U.S.
  - —Ainu
- Rebuttal by Each Delegation (3 minutes each)
  - —Russian
  - —Japanese
  - —U.S.
  - —Ainu
- Questions by Tribunal Jurors (5 minutes)
- Open Discussion (10 minutes)
- Adjournment

Day 2

- The President Pro Tempore Should Reconvene the Proceedings
- Final Statements (5 minutes each)
  - —Russian
  - —Japanese
  - —U.S.
  - —Ainu
- Deliberation (20 minutes)
- Rendering of Decision (5 minutes)
- Concluding Remarks (5 minutes)
- Adjournment

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# NOTES ON PROCEEDINGS

Student Name:

Character Name:

Country:

**Country #1:** ______________

Main Idea: ______________________________________________

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Points of Possible Agreement: ______________________________________________

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Points of Disagreement: ______________________________________________

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**Country #2:** ______________

Main Idea: ______________________________________________

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Points of Possible Agreement: ______________________________________________

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Points of Disagreement: ______________________________________________

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**Country #3:** ______________

Main Idea: ______________________________________________

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# handout #5

Points of Possible Agreement: ______________________________

Points of Disagreement: ______________________________

Notes from Tribunal Members:

Notes from Discussion:

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# REFLECTION QUESTIONS

1. You may have had to play the part of an individual with whose position you would not normally have agreed. If so, did playing this role give you an understanding of his/her point of view? What new perceptions did you gain by playing the role of someone else?

2. After participating in the role play, what do you see as the fundamental obstacles for resolution of the "Northern Territories" conflict?

3. Were there any instances during the negotiating process when you changed your position on a specific point? What helped you change your mind?

4. It has been said that the best way to negotiate is to "speak softly and carry a big stick." What does this phrase mean and how well did it apply to your negotiations?

5. Many times the most important part of negotiations is perceived to be power and politics. But how much do you think personality played a role during the role play? What about in real-world situations?

# character information sheet #1

## THE RUSSIAN DELEGATION

Role: Diplomat

Student Name:

Character Name:

### General Instructions

You have been elected to be a representative for the Russian delegation to the multilateral peace conference aimed at finally ending World War II. All of the sides have accepted the terms of binding arbitration; each agrees to abide by the final decision of the tribunal and its interpretation of international law. However, each delegation has been given the opportunity to present a proposal for settlement on the issue. Naturally, you will attempt to influence the proceedings so that the outcome is in both your personal best interests and the long-term interests of Russia. But you should be careful not to take extreme positions on the settlement. Remember that your proposal may not be accepted by the tribunal, and offending other delegates to the conference may end up backfiring on you.

### Character Background

You have perhaps the most difficult role to play on your delegation. As the official representative of the Russian government, you have to put your personal opinions aside and attempt to objectively communicate your delegation's position to the rest of the tribunal. The official position in Moscow at the start of the current round of negotiations was as follows: The four "Southern Kuriles" have been occupied by Russian/Soviet citizens for at least the past 50 years. Russia's sovereignty over them has been "rooted in history, decided at Yalta, confirmed at Potsdam, and finalized at San Francisco." Theoretically, the Russian government might be willing to consider some kind of compromise agreement—joint ownership or some kind of territorial split—as long as it can be made politically feasible.

As an experienced diplomat, you will handle all official communication between the Russian delegation and other countries' representatives. Moreover, you are responsible for the writing of Russia's final draft of the treaty, using the most diplomatic language possible. Your delegation has full authority to negotiate a settlement at this time, but remember that you also have to explain your actions to Moscow.

### Character Notes

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# character information sheet #2

## THE RUSSIAN DELEGATION

Role: Military General

Student Name:

Character Name:

### General Instructions

You have been elected to be a representative for the Russian delegation to the multilateral peace conference aimed at finally ending World War II. All of the sides have accepted the terms of binding arbitration; each agrees to abide by the final decision of the tribunal and its interpretation of international law. However, each delegation has been given the opportunity to present a proposal for settlement on the issue. Naturally, you will attempt to influence the proceedings so that the outcome is in both your personal best interests and the long-term interests of Russia. But you should be careful not to take extreme positions on the settlement. Remember that your proposal may not be accepted by the tribunal, and offending other delegates to the conference may end up backfiring on you.

### Character Background

You are an old hand in the Cold War. Having seen the once mighty Soviet Army fall into disarray, you have become bitter because it has diminished your power and prestige. You are wholly committed to the defense of "mother" Russia and will not accept any treaty that will compromise its security. You see the "Southern Kuriles" as vital for Russia's defensive position in the Pacific; but if concessions could be made concerning the U.S. military presence in the region, especially in Japan, you could support settlement of the issue. You do not trust people's words, but their actions.

At their height in the early 1990s, these were the Russian forces in the area:

Total Russian Pacific Fleet:

- 1 aircraft carrier
- 13 cruisers
- 7 destroyers
- 33 frigates
- 21 strategic nuclear submarines (in range of the United States)
- 63 tactical submarines (36 armed with nuclear weapons)

Troops in "Southern Kuriles":

- 10,000 ground forces
- 152 mm. long-range artillery

# character information sheet #2

- 40 MIG-23 fighters

Your military capabilities have been significantly weakened since the demise of the Soviet Union. Although it is difficult for you to admit, you realize that your military equipment and your troops are not in top fighting form. In fact, your predecessor as commander of the Pacific Fleet was fired in March of 1993 because four soldiers died of starvation. Also, President Yeltsin has repeatedly promised the Japanese a reduction in the number of troops in the "Southern Kuriles," but you have been reluctant to comply for both military and economic reasons. What are these soldiers going to do if you send them home? Their only livelihood is with the military. You were embarrassed to be asked to apologize in October 1993 when your Pacific Fleet dumped nuclear waste in the Sea of Okhotsk.

You know the military leaders of the other delegations well and have sponsored at least three "defense seminars" with the Japanese in the past. Informal discussions with the other generals may be helpful.

Character Notes

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# character information sheet #3

## THE RUSSIAN DELEGATION

Role: Politician (Member of Parliament)

Student Name:

Character Name:

### General Instructions

You have been elected to be a representative for the Russian delegation to the multilateral peace conference aimed at finally ending World War II. All of the sides have accepted the terms of binding arbitration; each agrees to abide by the final decision of the tribunal and its interpretation of international law. However, each delegation has been given the opportunity to present a proposal for settlement on the issue. Naturally, you will attempt to influence the proceedings so that the outcome is in both your personal best interests and the long-term interests of Russia. But you should be careful not to take extreme positions on the settlement. Remember that your proposal may not be accepted by the tribunal, and offending other delegates to the conference may end up backfiring on you.

### Character Background

You have been chosen as a delegate to the proceedings because you are one of the most popular politicians in Russia. You come from Sakhalin. Your ardent nationalism has resonated well with many people in Russia, especially those in tough economic times, and your hard-line stance on the "Southern Kuriles" in the last elections gave you a huge victory. Some Russians, especially young people, do not feel strongly about the issue and simply want a better life for themselves; but those who do care about the issue are very emotional about the islands. Moreover, there is a general feeling of distrust of Japanese in Russian society, which has been easily exploitable. Actually, personally you do not care much about the islands, but will continue to use them as a political tool.

Before you left, you said in a press conference that you would come back with an agreement that "maintains Russian integrity while at the same time promotes economic development." Thus, you are willing to compromise on the issue, as long as it meets these criteria and you can find a way to "save face" with your constituents.

As the most polished orator in the Russian delegation, you will officially present the Russian proposal to the tribunal, and need to make a convincing argument for its passage.

# character information sheet #3

Character Notes ______________________________

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# THE RUSSIAN DELEGATION

Role: Businessperson

Student Name:

Character Name:

## General Instructions

You have been elected to be a representative for the Russian delegation to the multilateral peace conference aimed at finally ending World War II. All of the sides have accepted the terms of binding arbitration; each agrees to abide by the final decision of the tribunal and its interpretation of international law. However, each delegation has been given the opportunity to present a proposal for settlement on the issue. Naturally, you will attempt to influence the proceedings so that the outcome is in both your personal best interests and the long-term interests of Russia. But you should be careful not to take extreme positions on the settlement. Remember that your proposal may not be accepted by the tribunal, and offending other delegates to the conference may end up backfiring on you.

## Character Background

For most citizens of the former Soviet Union, the transition to a market economy has been extremely painful; but you have reaped many benefits from it and are doing comparatively well. This has been a result of both your business acumen and the connections you made as a former Communist Party cadre. You have recently attained the rights to create joint ventures with foreign companies to develop the valuable energy resources in the Russian "Far East." Although the Russian government will still officially "own" them, you stand to make a small fortune as the manager of the company. Japanese companies are the most likely candidates for this joint venture because of their technology and geographic proximity to the area, but the dispute in the "Southern Kuriles" is making cooperation very difficult. Although you sympathize with the Russian Nationalists, your primary interest is in getting this dispute resolved—by any means—so that you can get back to the business of making money. You know the Japanese business representative very well and may want to consider an "informal" meeting with him/her.

## Character Notes

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# character information sheet #5

## THE RUSSIAN DELEGATION

Role: Resident of Shikotan

Student Name:

Character Name:

### General Instructions

You have been elected to be a representative for the Russian delegation to the multilateral peace conference aimed at finally ending World War II. All of the sides have accepted the terms of binding arbitration; each agrees to abide by the final decision of the tribunal and its interpretation of international law. However, each delegation has been given the opportunity to present a proposal for settlement on the issue. Naturally, you will attempt to influence the proceedings so that the outcome is in both your personal best interests and the long-term interests of Russia. But you should be careful not to take extreme positions on the settlement. Remember that your proposal may not be accepted by the tribunal, and offending other delegates to the conference may end up backfiring on you.

### Character Background

You are an ethnic Ukrainian whose family moved to the "Southern Kuriles" over fifty years ago. A fisherman by trade, you were forced to a hard life of working in the canning factory on Shikotan because of increased competition and a drop in fish numbers in the area. Although ethnically you are similar to your Russian neighbors, you have no sympathy for the Russian government and as a Ukrainian, Russian nationalistic arguments hold little weight. You simply want a better life for your family. In your opinion, Japanese control of the islands would bring economic investment and a better life for the citizens who live there.

### Character Notes

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# THE RUSSIAN DELEGATION

Role: Resident of Etorofu

Student Name:

Character Name:

## General Instructions

You have been elected to be a representative for the Russian delegation to the multilateral peace conference aimed at finally ending World War II. All of the sides have accepted the terms of binding arbitration; each agrees to abide by the final decision of the tribunal and its interpretation of international law. However, each delegation has been given the opportunity to present a proposal for settlement on the issue. Naturally, you will attempt to influence the proceedings so that the outcome is in both your personal best interests and the long-term interests of Russia. But you should be careful not to take extreme positions on the settlement. Remember that your proposal may not be accepted by the tribunal, and offending other delegates to the conference may end up backfiring on you.

## Character Background

You are a fisherman from the island of Etorofu. An ethnic Russian by birth, you are fiercely patriotic, despite the recent economic troubles that you and your country have been having. Since the fall of the Soviet Union you have witnessed what is, in your view, the methodical dismantling of a once vast empire. The "Southern Kuriles" are a "line in the sand" for you. But more importantly, Japanese control of the islands could affect your citizenship, and especially your livelihood, fishing. You will support economic cooperation with Japan, but any proposal to give sovereignty of the islands to Japan will meet with deep disdain. You are a very proud person and believe strongly that in time, the past glories of the Russian Empire may be rediscovered.

## Character Notes

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# character information sheet #7

## THE JAPANESE DELEGATION

Role: Diplomat

Student Name:

Character Name:

### General Instructions

You have been elected to be a representative for the Japanese delegation to the multilateral peace conference aimed at finally ending World War II. All of the sides have accepted the terms of binding arbitration; each agrees to abide by the final decision of the tribunal and its interpretation of international law. However, each delegation has been given the opportunity to present a proposal for settlement on the issue. Naturally, you will attempt to influence the proceedings so that the outcome is in both your personal best interests and the long-term interests of Japan. But you should be careful not to take extreme positions on the settlement. Remember that your proposal may not be accepted by the tribunal, and offending other delegates to the conference may end up backfiring on you.

### Character Background

You have perhaps the most difficult role to play on your delegation. As the official representative of the Japanese government, you must put your personal opinions aside and attempt to objectively communicate your delegation's position to the rest of the tribunal. The official position in Tokyo as of the start of the current round of negotiations was as follows:

> Japan recognizes there is a territorial dispute; we hope to reach a settlement based on law and mutual understanding; but we firmly maintain that the four islands in the "Northern Territories" have historically always been a part of Japan and that international law bears this out. Tokyo expects that some kind of territory will be returned to Japan, at least in name.

The Japanese government does not recognize the Ainu claim of sovereignty over the islands nor even their right to have a separate delegation at the tribunal. You have stated in the past, "These are talks between countries and the Japanese government is representing all the people of Japan, including the Ainu people."

As an experienced diplomat, you will handle all official communication between your delegation and other countries' representatives. Moreover, you are responsible for the writing of Japan's final draft of the treaty, using the most diplomatic language possible. Your delegation has full authority to negotiate a settlement at this time, but remember that you also have to explain your actions in Japan and defend any compromise you make.

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# character information sheet #7

Character Notes ______________________________

# character information sheet #8

## THE JAPANESE DELEGATION

Role: Military General

Student Name:

Character Name:

### General Instructions

You have been elected to be a representative for the Japanese delegation to the multilateral peace conference aimed at finally ending World War II. All of the sides have accepted the terms of binding arbitration; each agrees to abide by the final decision of the tribunal and its interpretation of international law. However, each delegation has been given the opportunity to present a proposal for settlement on the issue. Naturally, you will attempt to influence the proceedings so that the outcome is in both your personal best interests and the long-term interests of Japan. But you should be careful of taking extreme positions on the settlement. Remember that your proposal may not be accepted by the tribunal, and offending other delegates to the conference may end up backfiring on you.

### Character Background

Although the Japanese military is but a shadow of its former self, your father served during World War II, and he has instilled in you a strong sense of pride. You are also a very practical person and recognize the importance of the U.S.–Japan Security Alliance. Sometimes you are resentful of this "big-brother" relationship, but you understand its importance to Japanese security.

The issue of the "Northern Territories" in the past has helped to justify both the security alliance with the United States and Japanese domestic defense spending. You will need assurances that these two pillars will remain after the conclusion of the treaty. Nevertheless, there is a huge incentive for you to negotiate a peaceful settlement to the dispute if it will result in the reduction of Russian troops on the islands, even if sovereignty is not given back to Japan.

You know the military leaders of the other delegations well and have been involved in at least three "defense seminars" with the Russians in the past. You may need to have "informal" conferences with the other military leaders to discuss what military solutions will be acceptable to them.

The current total Japanese military (technically called a Self-Defense Force) consists of the following:

Navy:

- 6 guided-missile destroyers
- 58 frigates

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- 17 submarines
- 1 destroyer
- 5 amphibious landing ships (can have helicopters and vertical takeoff airplanes)
- 0 aircraft carriers

Army:

- 156,000 troops

Air Force:

- 46,000 troops
- 440 airplanes (0 bombers and 72 F-4EJ fighter bombers)

Obviously, without aircraft carriers and bombers, you do not have the capability of launching any kind of attack on another country, and the Russian military, at least in terms of overall size, could overwhelm you. However, you know that the Russian military has had severe economic and morale problems in recent years. The former commander of the Russian Pacific fleet was fired in 1993 when four soldiers starved to death. Also, later that year they dumped nuclear waste in the Sea of Okhotsk, for lack of financial resources to properly dispose of it.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin has repeatedly promised to reduce the troops in the area, but the actual withdrawal has not been verified. You suspect that there may still be up to 10,000 troops on the "Northern Territories" and 40 MIG fighters, as well as nuclear submarines in the Sea of Okhotsk. Obviously, the presence of the U.S. military in the region has been vital to Japan's security, although there are some disruptive issues, such as the behavior of U.S. soldiers in Okinawa and the stationing of nuclear warships in Japan.

Character Notes

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# character information sheet #9

## THE JAPANESE DELEGATION

Role: Politician

Student Name:

Character Name:

### General Instructions

You have been elected to be a representative for the Japanese delegation to the multilateral peace conference aimed at finally ending World War II. All of the sides have accepted the terms of binding arbitration; each agrees to abide by the final decision of the tribunal and its interpretation of international law. However, each delegation has been given the opportunity to present a proposal for settlement on the issue. Naturally, you will attempt to influence the proceedings so that the outcome is in both your personal best interests and the long-term interests of Japan. But you should be careful not to take extreme positions on the settlement. Remember that your proposal may not be accepted by the tribunal, and offending other delegates to the conference may end up backfiring on you.

### Character Background

You have been chosen as a delegate to the proceedings because you are one of the most popular politicians in Japan. You live in Tokyo. Although you personally don't have much concern for "a few desolate rocks in the Sea of Okhotsk," you certainly cannot take that position publicly. In fact, you took a relatively hard-line stance on the issue in the last elections, and it worked perfectly. Most Japanese, especially young people, do not feel strongly about the issue, but those who do are very emotional about the islands' return to Japan. Moreover, there is a general feeling of distrust of Russians in Japanese society, which has been easily exploitable.

Before you left for the tribunal, you said in a press conference that you would come back with an agreement that "corrects the injustices of the past, restores the dignity of the Japanese nation, and paves the way for a more secure relationship between Russia and Japan." Thus, you are willing to compromise on the issue, as long as it meets these criteria and you can find a way to "save face" with your constituents.

As the most polished orator in the Japanese delegation, you will officially present the Japanese proposal to the tribunal and need to make a convincing argument for its passage.

### Character Notes

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# THE JAPANESE DELEGATION

Role: Businessperson

Student Name:

Character Name:

## General Instructions

You have been elected to be a representative for the Japanese delegation to the multilateral peace conference aimed at finally ending World War II. All of the sides have accepted the terms of binding arbitration; each agrees to abide by the final decision of the tribunal and its interpretation of international law. However, each delegation has been given the opportunity to present a proposal for settlement on the issue. Naturally, you will attempt to influence the proceedings so that the outcome is in both your personal best interests and the long-term interests of Japan. But you should be careful of taking extreme positions on the settlement. Remember that your proposal may not be accepted by the tribunal, and offending other delegates to the conference may end up backfiring on you.

## Character Background

To be frank, you care less about treaties and Japanese "rights of sovereignty" than commercial opportunities. You see Russia as a huge pool of untapped natural resources. Japanese energy resources are consistently in short supply and you see the Russian "Far East," especially the natural gas fields in the Sea of Okhotsk, as a possible supplier of that demand.

You own a large Japanese energy company and would like to form a joint venture with a Russian company in the region. But economic cooperation is difficult, as long as the "Northern Territories" remain disputed. Thus, at this conference you will push for a quick resolution of the dispute and the establishment of economic cooperative organizations. You may also want to push the Japanese government to give more economic aid to Russia for the sake of developing its infrastructure, which will help you a great deal if you end up doing business there. There may be possibilities for "informal" discussions with the Russian and U.S. business representatives.

## Character Notes

# character information sheet #11

## THE JAPANESE DELEGATION

Role: Former Resident of the "Northern Territories" (displaced in 1945)

Student Name:

Character Name:

### General Instructions

You have been elected to be a representative for the Japanese delegation to the multilateral peace conference aimed at finally ending World War II. All of the sides have accepted the terms of binding arbitration; each agrees to abide by the final decision of the tribunal and its interpretation of international law. However, each delegation has been given the opportunity to present a proposal for settlement on the issue. Naturally, you will attempt to influence the proceedings so that the outcome is in both your personal best interests and the long-term interests of Japan. But you should be careful of taking extreme positions on the settlement. Remember that your proposal may not be accepted by the tribunal, and offending other delegates to the conference may end up backfiring on you.

### Character Background

Obviously, your family was hurt very badly by the then Soviet government's invasion of the "Northern Territories." Although you were only a small child at the time, your family's property was confiscated and you were deported to Japan after the Soviet takeover. Your family has never forgiven Russia for it.

You have since built a good life in Japan and your standard of living is much higher than that of the Russians and Ukrainians who are now living on the islands. So, you don't have much desire to move back, although you appreciate the opportunity to freely visit your family's ancestral graves. Still, you feel a strong desire that justice be served and are seeking a formal apology and some kind of indemnity from the Russian government. Naturally, you feel strongly that the four islands in the "Northern Territories" should be given back to Japan.

### Character Notes

# character information sheet #12

## THE JAPANESE DELEGATION

Role: Japanese Fisherman

Student Name:

Character Name:

### General Instructions

You have been elected to be a representative for the Japanese delegation to the multilateral peace conference aimed at finally ending World War II. All of the sides have accepted the terms of binding arbitration; each agrees to abide by the final decision of the tribunal and its interpretation of international law. However, each delegation has been given the opportunity to present a proposal for settlement on the issue. Naturally, you will attempt to influence the proceedings so that the outcome is in both your personal best interests and the long-term interests of Japan. But you should be careful of taking extreme positions on the settlement. Remember that your proposal may not be accepted by the tribunal, and offending other delegates to the conference may end up backfiring on you.

### Character Background

You have a strong personal interest in seeing this issue resolved in Japan's favor. Your fishing operations are based at northern Hokkaido (the northernmost of Japan's four main islands) and the fish stocks have been steadily decreasing in the area. You have had numerous run-ins with Russian sea patrols. In fact, your boat was actually fired upon in 1993 and you were detained for a number of days for "trespassing on Russian territorial waters." You maintain that you did not know that you were fishing in Russian territorial waters, and that anyway, the "Northern Territories" are rightfully Japanese property.

Naturally, complete return of the islands to Japan would be the best scenario from your point of view, as that would open up the fishing grounds to you and restrict Russian competition. However, you do not have strong nationalistic feelings on the issue and would accept any agreement that would increase your fish harvest, including some kind of "free economic zone."

### Character Notes

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# character information sheet #13

## THE U.S. DELEGATION

Role: Diplomat

Student Name:

Character Name:

### General Instructions

You have been elected to be a representative for the U.S. delegation to the multilateral peace conference aimed at finally ending World War II. All of the sides have accepted the terms of binding arbitration; each agrees to abide by the final decision of the tribunal and its interpretation of international law. However, each delegation has been given the opportunity to present a proposal for settlement on the issue. Naturally, you will attempt to influence the proceedings so that the outcome is in both your personal best interests and the long-term interests of the United States. But you should be careful not to take extreme positions on the settlement. Remember that your proposal may not be accepted by the tribunal, and offending other delegates to the conference may end up backfiring on you.

### Character Background

You have perhaps the most difficult role to play on your delegation. As the official representative of the U.S. government, you must put your personal opinions aside and attempt to objectively communicate your delegation's position to the rest of the tribunal. The official position in Washington as of the start of the current round of negotiations was as follows:

> The United States affirms that the islands known as the "Northern Territories" rightfully belong to Japan; however, we support and encourage dialogue and compromise on the issue for the overall benefit of the region.

As an experienced diplomat, you will handle all official communication between your delegation and other countries' representatives. Moreover, you are responsible for writing the U.S.'s final draft of the treaty, using the most diplomatic language possible. Your delegation has full authority to negotiate a settlement at this time, but remember that you also have to explain your actions to Washington.

### Character Notes

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180

# THE U.S. DELEGATION

Role: Military General

Student Name:

Character Name:

## General Instructions

You have been elected to be a representative for the U.S. delegation to the multilateral peace conference aimed at finally ending World War II. All of the sides have accepted the terms of binding arbitration; each agrees to abide by the final decision of the tribunal and its interpretation of international law. However, each delegation has been given the opportunity to present a proposal for settlement on the issue. Naturally, you will attempt to influence the proceedings so that the outcome is in both your personal best interests and the long-term interests of the United States. But you should be careful of taking extreme positions on the settlement. Remember that your proposal may not be accepted by the tribunal, and offending other delegates to the conference may end up backfiring on you.

## Character Background

You are the commander of the U.S.'s Seventh Fleet, stationed in the North Pacific. You do not have a strong emotional attachment to the issue of the "Northern Territories" and are concerned only with the military aspects of the dispute. Obviously, the Russian military is not nearly the threat that it once was; but the Russian Pacific Fleet is still significant, especially considering the number of nuclear weapons it has at its disposal (at least 30 submarines armed with nuclear warheads).

You know that the Russian military has had severe economic and morale problems in recent years. The former commander of the Russian Pacific Fleet was fired in 1993 when four soldiers starved to death. Also, later that year they dumped nuclear waste in the Sea of Okhotsk for lack of financial resources to properly dispose of it. Your greatest fear is not that Russia will attack the United States or Japan, but that the nuclear weapons will fall into the hands of the wrong people.

Your main objectives at this conference are to reaffirm the U.S.–Japan Security Alliance and maintain a significant U.S. military presence in the region.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin has repeatedly promised to reduce the troops in the area, but the actual withdrawal has not been verified. You suspect that there may still be up to 10,000 troops on the islands and 40 MIG fighters, as well as nuclear submarines in the Sea of Okhotsk. Obviously, the presence of the U.S. military in the region has been vital to Japan's security, although there are some disruptive issues, such as the behavior of U.S.

soldiers in Okinawa and the stationing of nuclear warships in Japan.

Although there have been significant cutbacks in the U.S.'s military since the end of the Cold War, the Pacific Fleet, roughly half of the total U.S. Navy, is still enormous with over 200 ships. Your Seventh Fleet consists of the following:

3 Carrier Battle Groups (2 from the United States and 1 permanently in Japan). Each Carrier Battle Group has:

- 1 aircraft carrier
- 85 planes
- 6 destroyer escorts (planes)

2 Amphibious Ready Groups (1 from the United States and 1 permanently in Japan). Each Amphibious Ready Group has:

- 1 main amphibious assault ship (has attack helicopters)
- 3 smaller amphibious assault ships
- 1 Marine Expeditionary Unit (2,000 people)

There are also U.S. nuclear submarines in the area, but they are not under your command.

Character Notes

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# character information sheet #15

## THE U.S. DELEGATION

Role: Politician

Student Name:

Character Name:

### General Instructions

You have been elected to be a representative for the U.S. delegation to the multilateral peace conference aimed at finally ending World War II. All of the sides have accepted the terms of binding arbitration; each agrees to abide by the final decision of the tribunal and its interpretation of international law. However, each delegation has been given the opportunity to present a proposal for settlement on the issue. Naturally, you will attempt to influence the proceedings so that the outcome is in both your personal best interests and the long-term interests of the United States. But you should be careful of taking extreme positions on the settlement. Remember that your proposal may not be accepted by the tribunal, and offending other delegates to the conference may end up backfiring on you.

### Character Background

Although there is almost no concern about this issue in the domestic political arena in the United States, you have been asked to attend the treaty negotiations as the chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. You have agreed to attend because you recognize the issue's strategic and political importance to the United States. A resolution of the dispute, under your guidance, would also bring you a great deal of prestige in the international community.

In the past, the United States has always supported a hard-line position on the issue in favor of Japan. While Japan is still the U.S.'s most important ally in the Pacific, with the end of the Cold War, the United States can afford to take a more moderate view on the issue. Your main goal, then, is to ensure a peaceful resolution of the issue which will maintain the U.S.'s superpower status in the region.

As the most polished orator in the U.S. delegation, you will officially present the U.S. proposal to the tribunal, and need to make a convincing argument for its passage.

### Character Notes

# character information sheet #16

## THE U.S. DELEGATION

Role: Businessperson

Student Name:

Character Name:

### General Instructions

You have been elected to be a representative for the U.S. delegation to the multilateral peace conference aimed at finally ending World War II. All of the sides have accepted the terms of binding arbitration; each agrees to abide by the final decision of the tribunal and its interpretation of international law. However, each delegation has been given the opportunity to present a proposal for settlement on the issue. Naturally, you will attempt to influence the proceedings so that the outcome is in both your personal best interests and the long-term interests of the United States. But you should be careful of taking extreme positions on the settlement. Remember that your proposal may not be accepted by the tribunal, and offending other delegates to the conference may end up backfiring on you.

### Character Background

You are the one American in the delegation with a strong interest in *not* having the dispute resolved. You are currently competing with some Japanese companies for the rights to develop joint venture energy exploration projects in the Russian "Far East." You are especially interested in the natural gas deposits in the Sea of Okhotsk. An agreement reached between the two countries could provide incentive for the Russian businesses to work with their global neighbor, Japan, instead of the United States.

### Character Notes

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# THE AINU/ENVIRONMENTAL DELEGATION

Role: Diplomat

Student Name:

Character Name:

## General Instructions

You have been elected to be a representative for the Ainu delegation to the multilateral peace conference aimed at finally ending World War II. All of the sides have accepted the terms of binding arbitration; each agrees to abide by the final decision of the tribunal and its interpretation of international law. However, each delegation has been given the opportunity to present a proposal for settlement on the issue. Naturally, you will attempt to influence the proceedings so that the outcome is in both your personal best interests and the long-term interests of the Ainu people. But you should be careful not to take extreme positions on the settlement. Remember that your proposal may not be accepted by the tribunal, and offending other delegates to the conference may end up backfiring on you.

## Character Background

You have perhaps the most difficult role to play on your delegation. As the official representative of the Ainu people, you must put your personal opinions aside and attempt to objectively communicate your delegation's position to the rest of the tribunal. You were also the first Ainu to be elected to the Japanese Diet (parliament) in August 1994. The official position that you have been instructed to negotiate for is the following:

> The Ainu people support the conclusion of a peace treaty between Russia and Japan ending World War II. However, we do not support the territorial sovereignty of either Japan or Russia in the "Northern Territories," otherwise known as the "Southern Kuriles." Instead, we are arguing for the demilitarization of the islands, their conversion to an international nature reserve, and establishment of a self-governing Ainu homeland on the islands.

As an experienced diplomat, you will handle all official communication between your delegation and other countries' representatives. Moreover, you are responsible for writing the Ainu's final draft of the treaty, using the most diplomatic language possible. Your delegation has full authority to negotiate a settlement at this time, but remember that you also have to explain your actions to the Ainu people.

## Character Notes

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# character information sheet #18

## THE AINU/ENVIRONMENTAL DELEGATION

Role: Politician

Student Name:

Character Name:

### General Instructions

You have been elected to be a representative for the Ainu delegation to the multilateral peace conference aimed at finally ending World War II. All of the sides have accepted the terms of binding arbitration; each agrees to abide by the final decision of the tribunal and its interpretation of international law. However, each delegation has been given the opportunity to present a proposal for settlement on the issue. Naturally, you will attempt to influence the proceedings so that the outcome is in both your personal best interests and the long-term interests of the Ainu people. But you should be careful of taking extreme positions on the settlement. Remember that your proposal may not be accepted by the tribunal, and offending other delegates to the conference may end up backfiring on you.

### Character Background

You are the president of the 15,000-member Ainu Association of Hokkaido. This represents almost two-thirds of the Ainu people. You have a strong emotional and spiritual attachment to the natural world, and decry the environmental destruction that has occurred in the "Northern Territories." You support the idea of an Ainu homeland on the "Northern Territories," its demilitarization, and the establishment of a nature preserve on the territories. In April 1991, you filed claims on behalf of the Ainu people with both the Russian and Japanese governments about your rights. After all, it is neither the Russians nor the Japanese who first settled the area, but the Ainu. You have angered many Japanese government officials in the past by calling the issue of the "Northern Territories" a "dispute among thieves."

As the most polished orator in the Ainu delegation and a spiritual leader, you will officially present the Ainu proposal to the tribunal, and need to make a convincing argument for its passage. The following poem, spoken by your "Fish Owl God," reflects your sentiments as it seems to foretell changes in political occupation and environmental destruction:

I came down along the river stream,
Passing over the villages where people lived;
I looked down there.
The poor in the past have become rich,
Whilst the rich in the past seem to be poorer.

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# character information sheet #18

Character
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# character information sheet #19

## THE AINU/ENVIRONMENTAL DELEGATION

Role: Japanese Environmentalist

Student Name:

Character Name:

### General Instructions

You have been elected to be a representative for the Ainu delegation to the multilateral peace conference aimed at finally ending World War II. All of the sides have accepted the terms of binding arbitration; each agrees to abide by the final decision of the tribunal and its interpretation of international law. However, each delegation has been given the opportunity to present a proposal for settlement on the issue. Naturally, you will attempt to influence the proceedings so that the outcome is in both your personal best interests and the long-term interests of the Ainu people. But you should be careful not to take extreme positions on the settlement. Remember that your proposal may not be accepted by the tribunal, and offending other delegates to the conference may end up backfiring on you.

### Character Background

You have joined forces with the Ainu people to try and establish an international environmental park, similar to Antarctica, on the "Northern Territories." Your organization, the World Waters Project of Washington, D.C., has advocated this position since 1993.

Some of the environmental problems in the area are as follows: The shamanu, a small wolf (30 centimeters high) with a haunting howl, has become extinct. It was known as the "Howling God" to the Ainu. Some poisonous environmental pollutants are found in the waters and throughout the food chain in this area, so that many fish are unhealthy to eat. Whaling and dolphin hunting are still widespread in the area. Other animals that were hunted to near extinction are the Asiatic black bear, the red-crowned crane, the Oriental white stork, and the brown bear. These animals were important food sources for the Ainu, and were also revered by them as *kamui*, or natural spirits. They are important religious symbols to the Ainu.

Other environmental problems in the "Northern Territories" include the dumping of waste in the waters around the islands and the disposal of drift nets by Japanese fishermen, who leave them behind when chased out of the area by Russian sea patrols. Also, although technically illegal, uncontrolled logging still continues on the islands, causing not only deforestation, but also heavy siltation in the rivers. This reduces the spawning habitats for salmon and other fish.

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# character information sheet #19

Character
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# character information sheet #20

## THE AINU/ENVIRONMENTAL DELEGATION

Role: Russian Environmentalist

Student Name:

Character Name:

### General Instructions

You have been elected to be a representative for the Ainu delegation to the multilateral peace conference aimed at finally ending World War II. All of the sides have accepted the terms of binding arbitration; each agrees to abide by the final decision of the tribunal and its interpretation of international law. However, each delegation has been given the opportunity to present a proposal for settlement on the issue. Naturally, you will attempt to influence the proceedings so that the outcome is in both your personal best interests and the long-term interests of the Ainu people. But you should be careful not to take extreme positions on the settlement. Remember that your proposal may not be accepted by the tribunal, and offending other delegates to the conference may end up backfiring on you.

### Character Background

You have joined forces with the Ainu people to try and establish an international environmental park, similar to Antarctica, on the "Southern Kuriles." Your organization, the Socio-Ecological Union, has been a strong advocate of this position. The Socio-Ecological Union has done grassroots work on environmental issues in Russia.

The "Southern Kuriles" is an ecologically unique area, and thus you are determined to help preserve it. The islands are located at the juncture of two ocean currents. Since one of the currents is warm and the other cool, unique species of wildlife have developed. The fisheries in this area are particularly rich.

There are some species of wildlife which are found exclusively on the islands, such as the Far Eastern skink and the Kunashiri Island grass snake. Also, the "Southern Kuriles" is a major stop in the migration paths of countless birds, including the crested kingfisher, the white-headed Steller's eagle, and the red-crowned cranes, which are considered sacred birds in Japan. Finally, the rust-colored Japanese robin, apparently unaware of political boundaries, migrates every year between Japan and the "Southern Kuriles."

### Character Notes

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# APPENDICES

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